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# About the Editors

- **Editor**

Kevin Lamb, a Hoosier native and graduate of Indiana University, with undergraduate degrees in political science and journalism, is the editor of *Race, Genetics and Society: Glayde Whitney on the Scientific and Social Policy Implications of Racial Differences* (2002) and the author of numerous articles that have been published in several periodicals, including *National Review*, *Chronicles*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *Society*, *Mankind Quarterly*, *Conservative Review*, and *The Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies*, and is a frequent contributor to *The Social Contract* and *Right Now!*

- **Associate Editor & Book Editor**

Samuel Francis, Ph.D., is a graduate of Johns Hopkins University (B.A., 69) and the University of North Carolina (M.A., 71; Ph.D. 79) and former policy analyst with the Heritage Foundation as well as a former U.S. Senate staff member. Formerly an award-winning staff columnist with *The Washington Times*, where he served as editorial writer, 1986-91, and deputy editorial page editor, 1987-91, Dr. Francis writes a nationally syndicated column, is a contributing editor to *Chronicles*, where he writes a monthly column, "Principalities and Powers,"and is currently editor-in-chief of the *Citizens Informer*. He is the author of *The Soviet Strategy of Terror*, Heritage Foundation, 1981; *Power and History: The Political Thought of James Burnham*, University Press of America, 1983; *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism*, University of Missouri Press, 1993; and *Revolution from the Middle*, Middle American Press, 1996. His writings have appeared in major newspapers and magazines, including *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *National Review*, and *The Spectator* (London). Dr. Francis also serves on the Board of Editorial Advisors of *Modern Age: A Quarterly Review*.

- **Web Edition Editor**

Louis Andrews is a graduate of the College of Charleston (B.S., 66) and did graduate work in the Department of History at the University of South Carolina. He is a businessman, web developer, and writer and has been published in *Right Now!*, the *Augusta Chronicle*, and the online journal *pinc*, for which he served as book review editor. He is also the developer and webmaster of the Stalking the Wild Taboo website and the author of *North Carolina's Demographic Transformation: The Impact of Race and Immigration* (2004). Though a native of South Carolina, Mr. Andrews has lived in Augusta, Georgia, since 1982.

- **Associate Editor**

Theodore J. O'Keefe studied history and classics at Harvard College. During his career in publishing he has edited several racial-nationalist and historical revisionist periodicals and helped bring numerous books on European and American history and culture into print. Mr. O'Keefe has also published many articles on the political and cultural aspects of our civilization's contemporary crisis.

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Farrenkopf argues that Spengler's view of history underwent a significant shift of thinking in later life. He refers to Spengler's "second view," his "new view," and the "late Spengler," which Farrenkopf says emerges mostly from the unpublished documents in the archive in Munich. Perhaps the most significant part of the "transformed" view includes revising the notion that Western technology dies with, and is unique to, the West. Farrenkopf agrees it is plausible that the technological inventions of the West, erupting from Western man's struggle to overcome nature, "could only be conceivably created by such a culture" as the dynamic Faustian. But he maintains that Spengler in later years "conceives man's struggle with the natural environment, from his earliest origins to the modern age, as forming an integrated process in which man attempts to reshape nature through the refinement of his technics."

Farrenkopf thereby implies—but notably does not drive home the point—that Spengler began to adopt universalist views of human history. That would be quite a reversal, indeed. No doubt Spengler's views did evolve over time; after all, *The Decline of the West* was published while he was a relatively young man—in his thirties. He died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-six. But Spengler's central idea is the distinctiveness and separateness of the high cultures, each with its own special character or "soul," and life span. In Spengler's philosophy, Faustian man's high technology is essential to himself and a necessarily unique expression of his culture—an inner necessity not shared by the other high cultures. That man in general—mankind, if you will—might exhibit similar traits across cultures, such as tool-making in the development of agriculture, for example, is no contradiction, no transformation of the ideas expressed in *Decline of the West*.

Whatever his later views, Spengler's published works are a valuable and realistic antidote to the rosy linear-progressive ideology of Fukuyama and the academic elites whose thinking dominates and directs the policies of the nations of the West. While Spengler's brilliant and profound view of history is kept relevant by the very events it surveys, *Prophet of Decline* is an important contribution to keeping Spengler's philosophy of history in front of new audiences.

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*Jerry Woodruff is Editor of* ***Middle American News****.*

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> The immense superiority that Western Europe and North America enjoyed in the second half of the nineteenth century, in power of every kind—economic, and political, military and financial—was based on an uncontested monopoly of industry.... We were in sole possession... of the methods and the trained intellects required for its utilization. It is this that constitutes the basis of the luxurious living of the white worker—whose income, in comparison with that of the "native" [in the colonized world] is princely—a circumstance that Marxism has turned to dishonest account.... It is being revenged on us today.... The high level of wages of the white worker, which is today a peril to his very life, rests upon the monopoly that the leaders of industry have created about him.
>
> And then, at the close of the last century, the blind will to power began to make its decisive mistakes. Instead of keeping strictly to itself the technical knowledge that constituted their greatest asset, the "white" peoples complacently offered it to all the world, in every Hochschule, orally and on paper, and the astonished homage of Indians and Japanese delighted them. The famous "dissemination of industry" set in, motivated by the idea of getting bigger profits by bringing production into the marketing area. And so, in place of the export of finished products exclusively, they began an export of secrets, processes, methods, engineers, and organizers.... The unassailable privileges of the white races have been thrown away, squandered, betrayed.

This, Spengler warned, was the beginning of a catastrophe for the West.

> The center of gravity of production is steadily shifting away.... It is no mere crisis, but the beginning of a catastrophe.... For the colored races... [machine technics] is but a weapon in their fight against the Faustian civilization, a weapon like a tree from the woods that one uses as house-timber, but discards as soon as it has served its purpose. This machine technics will end with the Faustian civilization and one day will lie in fragments, forgotten — our railways and steamships as dead as the Roman roads and the Chinese wall, our giant cities and skyscrapers in ruins like old Memphis and Babylon.

Here, then, is Spengler's "pessimism." But anyone who has visited the urban ghost town of non-white Detroit with its boarded-up buildings, abandoned skyscrapers, and trash-strewn empty streets cannot help but wonder: Can the non-white populations that are expected to be a majority of the U.S. population by 2050 sustain the West? If so, in what sense will they be "Westerners"? The civilizations of Egypt and Rome are dead; why should the West escape their fate?

Refreshingly, Farrenkopf takes Spengler's arguments seriously, as he should, including this one.

> Spengler's political economy of the decline of the West is a significant and hitherto unappreciated implicit critique of the premises of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism rests upon the debatable assumption that the universal embrace of free market policies and the implementation of such measures as trade liberalization, privatization, and fiscal austerity will help promote enduring economic stability. Spengler boldly argues that the global economy will eventually collapse as part of the grand process of civilizational decline.

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Our linear-minded elites cannot help but see the growth of Third World populations and their migrations to the West as progress. It shows mankind's yearnings for liberty and equality, they believe. The more who yearn, the more progress is made. The transfer of industry and technology (regarded by progressives as the inventions of "mankind," rather than particular groups of men) from the West to the non-West is also progress, for the whole of "mankind" yearns to live like Fukuyama and his colleagues. That more Third Worlders do live that way—by coming to the West, for example—is even more evidence that we are closer to the End of History and thus achieving greater and greater progress, which in turn reinforces and confirms the belief among elites that they have been right all along.

For Spengler, how statesmen and elites view history is crucial to how they act on the world stage. As Farrenkopf writes,

> Spengler's contribution to the philosophy of statecraft consists of his argument that politically realistic policies in the twentieth century and beyond can only be formulated in conformance with a profound sense of what is conditioned by unfolding, grand historical trends.... For Spengler, the study of the life cycles of past civilizations enriches statecraft because it illuminates the ineluctable trends of the future.

In Spengler's view, there is no universal history of "mankind" in any meaningful sense. Mankind is a zoological concept, not an historical reality. There is history only for particular groups of men living in particular places at particular times in particular cultures. *They* have history, and they differ from each other; universal mankind, which does not differ, does not have history.

At the same time, he dismisses as primitive and analytically useless the division of history into the linear scheme of ancient, medieval, and modern (and now additionally, "postindustrial" or " postmodern"). World history is the product of the birth, growth, maturity, decay, and death of great cultures. Each of those cultures are the products of particular men in specific times with particular outlooks expressed in each separate culture through architecture, art, music, philosophy, and other cultural manifestations.

To Spengler, the great mechanical and technological advances the world now enjoys are the products not of mankind ("mankind," he writes, "has never discovered anything whatever"), but are uniquely the expressions of Western—in his terminology, "Faustian"—culture. This technology comes from the West's internal dynamism, a unique expression of its cultural essence that differentiates it from the other high cultures, empowering its dramatic military, political, and economic expansion across the globe as no other culture before it.

Spengler foresaw and warned, however, that a "treason to technics" would threaten the Faustian West, a treason stemming from a spreading weariness among elites in the cosmopolitan centers of the culture. That treason is the transfer of technical power and knowledge to the non-white world. In *Man and Technics*, he wrote a blunt and eloquent description of the treason, justifying here a lengthy quotation:

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But Spengler was much more than a German nationalist, and his hopes for his own homeland are not effective arguments against him. Spengler's virtues—and they are many—reside in his discernment of broad similarities in the course of the rise and fall of several great "high cultures," the contours of which he was able to integrate into a brilliantly creative and formal philosophical structure that makes the linear-progressive view of history look hopelessly naive.

One of the leading exponents of the linear view, which unfortunately dominates the outlook of Western elites today, is Francis Fukuyama, a former chief of the State Department's office of planning. In his celebrated and influential 1992 book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Fukuyama articulates and formalizes the progressive-universalist scheme, which consists of combining an abridged Hegelian philosophy of history with a faith in the belief that mankind consists of one universal nature, the needs and aspirations of which can be satisfied with a single political-economic culture to which all men (consciously or not) aspire.

In his chapter entitled, "The Worldwide Liberal Revolution," Fukuyama presents a chart that shows that in 1790 there were only three liberal democracies: the United States, Switzerland, and France. But in 1990, there were sixty-one liberal democracies, including the countries of Botswana, Papua New Guinea, Mauritius, India, Thailand, and Sri Lanka, among others. Fukuyama asserts that this is part of his evidence for the progress of mankind:

> The success of democracy in a wide variety of places and among many different peoples would suggest that the principles of liberty and equality on which they are based are not accidents or the results of ethnocentric prejudice, but are in fact discoveries about the nature of man as man, whose truth does not diminish but grows more evident as one's point of view becomes more cosmopolitan.

For self-congratulating progressives, the societies they rule from their cosmopolitan perches turn out to be the pinnacles of human achievement, the sort of societies toward which history has been marching all along and which every other man on earth wants to mimic. And when the whole world comes under the rule of progressives enforcing the ideas of universal equality and liberty at the top of history's pyramid, then we will have reached an important end, argues Fukuyama:

> And if we are now at a point where we cannot imagine a world substantially different from our own, in which there is no apparent or obvious way in which the future will represent a fundamental improvement over our current order, then we must also take into consideration the possibility that History itself might be at an end.

To the progressive, history ends when the future brings no more improvement, or improvement is no longer possible—or even imaginable. The possibility of a worsening or a failure or deterioration is merely "pessimism" and not thinkable—therefore inadmissible.

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Western elites are unable to see the crisis. With their belief in a linear, progressive history of mankind and a sentimental attachment to egalitarianism, they believe mankind consists of zoological units interchangeable from one culture to another. For them, historic events are ever-advancing stages that ultimately lead everyone on earth to liberal democratic capitalism (or a Marxist-socialist utopia, depending on which side of the intra-universalist debate you're on).

Few, if any, thinkers besides Spengler provide the kind of comprehensive world-historical perspective that confronts and challenges this utopian linear-progressive ideology, placing the crisis of the West into an intelligible framework. For the last fifty years or so, Spengler remained daunting to non-specialists, his works often hard to find, and his view of history obscured by time and the absence of fair-minded discussion.

But now, thanks to John Farrenkopf, there is available in English—and in paperback—what is undeniably the most lucid, thorough, and fair-minded overview of Spengler ever published. *Prophet of Decline: Spengler on World History and Politics* is based not only on Spengler's published works but includes insights gleaned from the Spengler Archive in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, which reportedly includes documents, photographs, newspaper articles, private correspondence, and interview transcripts about Spengler, as well as much of the philosopher's own notes and memos and manuscript fragments, including an unpublished autobiographical sketch.

Although he adopts the vocabulary of Spengler's critics, Farrenkopf is open-minded; he asserts that "historical pessimism cannot be ignored in our crisis-ridden age," and adds that Spengler "enhances our knowledge and self-consciousness as individuals and societies awash on the tidal flows of historical time." Much to his credit, Farrenkopf agrees that many of the attacks on Spengler have been politically motivated. "[O]ne cannot avoid the impression that the intensity and emotionalism of much of the criticism reflects antagonism toward Spengler's anti-Weimar neoconservatism and historical pessimism," he writes.

One polemical writer for the Internet version of a popular conservative magazine recently tried to discredit Spengler by suggesting he was a "racist" who "worried that the introduction of nonwhites and their culture into Western civilization was a cancer." But Spengler was not a biological racialist and never made any such remark. In fact, he persistently denied the role of race in culture-building and even foolishly cited work by socialist anthropologist Franz Boas to bolster the unscientific assertion that the physical environment can affect the shape of men's skulls.

As a conservative nationalist (pre-National Socialist), Spengler ardently hoped that Germany would emerge as the hegemonic national power within the broader Euro-American Western culture, leading the culture to fulfill what he saw as its ultimate destiny the way Rome became the dominant power in the classical world. As a result, many postwar liberal-democratic intellectuals preferred to see Spengler's philosophy of history as little more than an academic attempt to justify German expansionism.

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# The New Relevance of Oswald Spengler

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## Prophet of Decline:

### Spengler on World History and Politics

John Farrenkopf
Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001
pbk, $24.95

304 pp.

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*Reviewed by Jerry Woodruff*

With the victory of the democracies and their communist allies over fascist Europe in 1945, Oswald Spengler's view of history quickly fell into obscurity. Though it once enjoyed intellectual respectability and even popularity throughout the Western world, the rulers of neither the capitalist democracies nor the totalitarian communist states had much use for a philosophy of history that denied the unlimited progress of man. After all, the progressive march of mankind into a future of Enlightenment and prosperity was (and remains) the central tenet—and propaganda—of both universalist ideologies.

But today, despite being shunned for decades by Western intellectuals, Spengler is more relevant than ever. The crises he warned us about—the threat of cheap labor competition from non-Western regions and the decline in population among Western countries, to name but two—are now openly discussed. Although Western elites still pretend their populations are ascending toward a global commercial paradise, some dissident thinking has recently erupted, echoing what democracy's progressive academics like to call Spengler's "pessimism." Patrick Buchanan's best-selling *The Death of the West*, for example, is a strikingly faithful recapitulation of Spengler's warnings in *The Hour of Decision*. Published in English in 1934, Spengler's book warned that the Western peoples, far from achieving materialistic bliss in some global multicultural shopping mall of the future, face potential catastrophe from left-wing revolutionaries within the culture who would ally with a hostile non-white world without. As Buchanan illustrates with considerable detail in *Death of the West*, that dangerous alliance of the left with anti-Western non-white populations has already happened.

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Pat Buchanan will always be one of those few. The bad guys don't like him, and he doesn't like them. He's on our team.

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*Hugh Perry is an academic who has contributed to all three of Pat Buchanan's presidential campaigns.*

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## End notes

1. Buchanan, Pat *The Great Betrayal*, p. 326.
2. Buchanan, Pat *A Republic, Not An Empire*, pp. 105-107, pp. 120-23, 141, 53.
3. Ibid, pp. 141, 219, 297, 298.
4. Ibid, p. 344.
5. Buchanan, Pat *Right From the Beginning*, pp. 16, 30.
6. Ibid, pp. 39, 49, 189.
7. Ibid, p. 186.
8. Ibid, p. 187.
9. Ibid, p. 13.
10. Ibid, pp. 58-79.
11. Ibid, pp. 78, 79.
12. Ibid, p. 145.
13. Buchanan, Pat *The Death of the West*, p. 23.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid, p. 22.
16. Ibid, pp. 25, 49.
17. Ibid, p. 71.
18. Ibid, p. 134.
19. Ibid, p. 125.
20. Ibid, p. 143.
21. Ibid, p. 144.
22. Buchanan, Pat *Right From the Beginning*, p. 282.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid, p. 374.
25. Ibid, p. 375.
26. Buchanan, Pat *The Death of the West*, p. 265.
27. Ibid, p. 266.
28. Ibid, p. 268.
29. Buchanan, Pat *Right From the Beginning*, p. 384.

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Yet, in the book's final two paragraphs, the author seems to have recovered a bit. Buchanan sees America as "the greatest nation on earth... the last best hope of earth" and—citing abolitionist John Brown—"This is a beautiful country."

Thus, having rejected the religious soul of the West as no longer viable and the significance of race and the "mystic chords of memory," Buchanan still wants us to fight. "We must never stop trying to take her back."[28]

But at this point the reader is forced to ask: Back to what?

In *Right From the Beginning* Pat Buchanan wrote "Country, family and faith, these are the things worth dying for; these are the things worth fighting for ...."[29]

But if the "country" and the "faith" are actually at war with the beliefs and very identities that they once incarnated, then what?

## A Good Man

And yet, this reviewer senses that, despite the confusions in his thought and the occasional misplacement of his loyalties, Pat Buchanan is a good man whose instincts are clearer and better than his words. In the basic way that he was taught certain loyalties as a youth, he has struggled to maintain them throughout his life. As the American right has abandoned and come to denounce the likes of Senator McCarthy, Franco, and other old heroes, Buchanan has stood firm. Norman Podhoretz and Abe Foxman don't boss "Pop" Buchanan's boy around as they do so many others. You won't find Jesse Jackson summoned to an ageing Pat Buchanan as he begs tearfully for forgiveness. There is something admirable about all this resolve even when it is misapplied to a Nixon or a Dole.

In his heart, Pat Buchanan knows that a Mexican and black America will be a living hell for whites. He knows what South Africa and Rhodesia are today. But, darn it, "Pop" Buchanan and the nuns at Gonzaga never spoke about these matters much, so Pat won't either. And the Jews, well, Pat senses there is some problem here, but in the 1950s there wasn't much talk of the Jewish question, so all we will ever get from Pat are some off-the-cuff outbursts.

To be sure, Pat Buchanan turned out not to be the man who would lead the great American populist, racial counter-revolution. But for a brief time, he was its symbolic leader, flawed but well intentioned. For that he deserves our gratitude. In the future, though, our movement would be better served by stationing Pat Buchanan in the trenches where his warrior spirit would be most welcome. The leadership position, however, is still open.

In the end, one cannot help but think of Pat Buchanan as a more cheerful version of the forever combative Hilaire Belloc. And, as Monsignor Ronald Knox preached at Belloc's Requiem Mass in 1953, so may we say of Patrick J. Buchanan:

> No human flattery, no love of ease, no weariness of conflict, shall make him retract the pledge he has given. 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have redeemed my pledge.' This is what Hilaire Belloc would wish us to say of him, and there are few of whom it could be said so truly.

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mildly interesting theoretical concern. It is in part because of the conservative evasion of the racial issue in the 1960s that race has become as profoundly taboo a subject as it is today. Had conservatives been as vocal on the realities of race in the 1960s as they were on the virtues of free market economics, it might have been Arthur Jensen and William Shockley who won Nobel Prizes in the 1970s rather than Milton Friedman and Frederick Hayek.

In the final pages of *The Death of the West*, Buchanan offers a summing up of his views on the death of our civilization. His arguments are worth following because, although somewhat convoluted, they will throw yet more light on his views of race.

First, he posits that "Christianity gave birth to the West and undergirds its moral and political order." (A skeptic might ask whether Buchanan sees Greece, Rome, or pagan northern Europe as part of the West.)

However, as the book has documented, the "faith" is dying. Thus, "But if that faith is dying, what is the belief system, what is the unifying principle, what is the source of moral authority that holds the West together?"

Perhaps the essence of the West is "racial solidarity." But this possibility Buchanan also rejects because "the past five hundred years have been an endless chronicle of European peoples slaughtering one another." One fears that there is some confusion here between the question of "What is the West?" (to which the answer might well be religion or race) and "What has been in the past and what is today a possible rallying point for Western men?" Buchanan seems to eliminate Christianity because it won't work today and race because it didn't work in the past ("work" in the sense that people believe in religion or race). The theme of pragmatic sociology and religious or racial truth are interwoven.

But more confusion is to come. Race cannot "make the West unique" because "the great enemies of Western culture have come out of the West." But all traitors come from within. Does that invalidate the ties that bind the vast majority together?

The last argument Buchanan offers against race as the basis of Western identity is the most perplexing. "Moreover, America is a multiethnic, multiracial nation today, and the nations of Europe will be tomorrow." And, therefore, apparently race has to go. It had seemed through many of the earlier pages in this book that it was precisely this very transformation of America and Europe that Buchanan mourned and opposed. Now, it is offered as a refutation of Western racial identity.

But, if neither religion nor race can serve as the "unifying principle," Mr. Buchanan suggests that maybe "the mystic chords of memory" do or will unite the West. This, too, he dismisses. "As America and Europeans open their doors to millions from countries and continents once subjugated and colonized, the mystic chords of memory are as likely to divide us as unite us."[26]

After a brief and quickly rejected flirtation with "democracy" as the essence of the West, Buchanan inexplicably returns to square one. The West is about "faith." (He seems to have forgotten his rejection of this formulation five paragraphs back.) Since the faith is dying, then, it may well be "that the Death of the West is ordained .... the patient is dying and nothing can be done."[27]

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> But the national civil rights movement ... had the moral high ground. They were victorious, ultimately, because America is a good country; and because they deserved to win. They were asking that federal law reflect the New Testament teaching about how a man should treat his brother; and Edmund Burke was no match for that.

According to Buchanan a segregated society is a moral evil of such proportions that the highest levels of government are obligated to destroy that society. Mr. Buchanan himself found some arguments of the civil rights movement convincing.

> To me, the most powerful arguments Roy Wilkins and the civil rights community mustered for federal legislation were two: first, when the exercise of individual freedom by *millions* of whites, not just a bigoted handful, results in denial to a whole class of Americans of their freedom to travel and associate, the federal government had a duty to step in. Second , as many of America's new hotels and motels were booming because of a *federal* highway system to which the tax dollars of minority Americans had also contributed, the federal government had a right to step in.[22]

Buchanan's only objection was to the federal government's forcing "Ollie's Barbecue and the corner tavern" to integrate. Here, too, however, his objections were merely legal. "Freedom meant the freedom to choose, even if one chose to be a bigot."[23] Poor Ollie, all he wanted was to provide a place for people to socialize with their own race and prevent the easy mingling that inevitably leads to the end of racial identity and survival. For this Buchanan calls him a "bigot." The South, which developed the system of segregation in order to protect white people, particularly women and children, from black behavior patterns and in order to preserve its own culture and very identity, is seen by Buchanan as occupying the moral low ground, in defiance of the New Testament. (We leave aside for the moment that the Bible, in both Old and New Testaments, has no problem with slavery. Indeed, "foreign" slaves, unlike Hebrew slaves, released after six years, are to serve "forever." [Compare Leviticus 25:46 with Exodus 21:2])

Buchanan's reasoning here is intriguing. If he thinks segregation was immoral and bigoted, then would he have favored dismantling apartheid and instituting majority rule in South Africa? The answer, however surprising, is: yes. He favored "South Africa mak[ing] the necessary transition from apartheid to a more just society."[24] Did he favor integration and majority rule in Rhodesia? It seems that his sole concern in Zimbabwe was the communist background of Robert Mugabe.[25] But does Buchanan really believe that an integrated South is safer or better for whites (or for that matter safer and better for blacks) than the segregated South? Does he really prefer black rule and its horrible consequences in South Africa and Rhodesia?

Buchanan's views of race, or lack thereof, are characteristic of the American conservative movement of the 1950s and 60s. Essentially, conservatives of that era tried to avoid the issue of race as much as possible, defending Southern segregation on constitutional and social grounds and South Africa and Rhodesia for anti-communist strategic reasons and mentioning race only occasionally as a

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eliminated. In addition, he cites feminist ideology and fears of world overcrowding, among other reasons, as factors leading women away from their traditional role as child bearers.[16]

In addition, however, there is an element of self-loathing that discourages the men and women of the West from wishing to continue their kind. The West has been taught to hate itself, and this hatred is directed at both Christianity and the white race. Buchanan sees the triumph of self-hate as having "captured a Christian and conservative nation."[17]

Perhaps the most racially explicit chapter in the book is the sixth, "La Reconquista," which details the steady takeover of large portions of the American Southwest by Mexican immigrants. And, as Buchanan notes, "Invading armies go home, immigrant armies do not."[18] He sees this immigration as particularly difficult because

> Mexicans not only come from another culture, but millions are from another race. History and experience teach us that different races are far more difficult to assimilate. The sixty million Americans who claim German ancestry are fully assimilated, while millions from Africa and Asia are still not participants in American society.[19]

At first glance the author may appear to be coming close to a racialist view of Mexican immigration. Actually, that is a total misunderstanding. When he writes that Germans are "assimilated" and Africans aren't, he is in effect stating that successful assimilation is based on something other than racial identity. His sentence implies that it is difficult for other races to assimilate to this—whatever-it-might-be—but they could conceivably achieve it. The Germans did, but they could conceivably have failed. Thus, there is an American identity other than European to which all men on the planet can assimilate, if they do it right.

By chapter's end, Buchanan seems finally to have decided to explore the depths of the issues at hand. He identifies two conceptions of America. One, he calls "the blood and soil idea of a nation," which includes "common ancestry, language, literature, history, heroes, traditions, customs, mores and faith" as its components. This conception, he writes, surely does not describe America today.[20]

The alternative view is that being an American means believing in the same "ideals." However, this shared belief in an American Creed also is no longer tenable. Today, "Americans no longer agree on values, history or heroes." Thus, Buchanan asks, "Can we really say that we are still one nation and one people?"[21]

Yet Buchanan never chooses between the two views of nationhood; he never affirms which one is true. It is this inability to confront racial issues thoroughly that proves to be the undoing of his final summation in *The Death of the West*.

## Buchanan against "Racism"

Those looking for a clear statement by Pat Buchanan on racial questions need not spend time deciphering acerbic quips that merely hint at some understanding of racial differences and the preservation of racial identity. In *Right from the Beginning*, Mr. Buchanan is quite explicit in presenting his views on race:

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That response, or the lack thereof, is symptomatic of Buchanan's thinking on many significant issues. He remembers better times in the Church and in America. Being a Buchanan, he will not surrender to current trends. ("Everyone of us [Buchanans] was opinionated; and we were all taught not to back down. Whatever our positions lost in logic might be made up in invective. If you never quit an argument, presumably you never lost.")[12]

This approach almost makes it impossible to (a) adjust to changed circumstances, as it would seem believing Catholics, post-Vatican II, must; (b) seek to uncover the philosophical or social bases for the '40s and '50s Catholicism that is Buchanan's personal preference; and (c) apply critical scrutiny to those "good" times.

But, while this approach also leaves Buchanan capable of plenty of "invective"—witty, clever, or just plain mean—on the Jewish / Zionist question or Vatican II, it renders him incapable of probing these issues in depth as opposed to exhibiting a combination of nostalgia and unfocused fervor. It is this same bundle of flaws that proves his undoing when he confronts, in his most recent book, the phenomenon that Lothrop Stoddard so aptly termed, over eighty years ago, "the rising tide of color."

## The Death of the West

In his latest book, Buchanan marshals a convincing array of evidence to prove his thesis that "the Death of the West is not a prediction of what is going to happen, it is a depiction of what is happening now."[13] The book explores both symptoms and causes. Little in it will come as a surprise to anyone who is reasonably well-read in racial and immigration issues, but *The Death of the West* is indeed an excellent introduction to the subject of racial, cultural, and religious decadence, a thorough documentation of the painful, infuriating, and, in the end, tragic details of the decline of the West. Yet the book does have flaws, one of which is its casual weaving together of race, culture, and religion. While this is definitely a minus for anyone who knows much about our problems and is now ready for solutions, it may actually be a plus for the beginner to whom the sheer wealth of data may, hopefully, prove unsettling.

Buchanan's prognosis is rooted in the demographic facts of our time. "Outside of Muslim Albania, no European nation is producing enough babies to replace its population ... There is no sign of a turnaround."[14] In order to maintain its current population numbers, needed to provide a working tax base for the elderly, by 2050 "Europe will have to bring in 1.4 billion immigrants from Africa and the Middle East."[15] Thus, either Europe quietly fades from the world scene or floods itself with immigrants and dies in the self-inflicted deluge.

Buchanan offers several explanations for the unwillingness of whites, unique among the world's races, to have enough babies to reproduce their own numbers. The first is economic—it is becoming increasingly difficult to support a husband and wife on one salary. Both must work. Hence, children must be postponed or

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faiths, and if it has seen its pope officiate at services together with animists and voodoo doctors—all of which has happened—the most Buchanan will ever do is talk about the good old days. Never will he ask how Catholics should relate to a church that seems to have cast aside all it once stood for, that has actually embraced the very indifferentism so denounced by the nineteenth century popes in their encyclicals and syllabi.

As a result of these reforms, Rome itself has created a crisis of massive dimensions inside its own church, with priestly vocations evaporating, church attendance dwindling, and open apostasy preached from the highest pulpits. This crisis has evoked much agonized debate in Catholic circles. What is the status of Vatican II documents, conciliar popes, the sacraments offered by (what would have once been called) modernist priests, and so forth? Resistance takes many forms, but it seems impossible that a believing Catholic does not have to wrestle with these matters. Whether remaining in the loyal opposition or in some way opting out, he must try to confront the post-Vatican II Church by the light of Catholic theology, wrestle with his conscience, and come to some conclusions.

Yet in none of Buchanan's public pronouncements is there any indication that he has ever engaged these vexing topics. What is evident throughout his writings is a constant bemoaning of the "Church now" as opposed to the "Church then."

> We, my three closest brothers and I, were "raised Catholic" in the '40s and '50s in a militant and triumphant Church in the days of the Legion of Decency and Pius XII; we grew up when the Faith was unquestioned and patriotism unconstrained, in a time when flag-burning was unheard of, and Vatican II was only a gleam in the eye of Monsignor Roncalli.[9]

Leaving aside the easy weaving of American patriotism (which, when viewed by the standards of the political theories of Pius IX and X and pre-Vatican II Catholic social philosophy, would be bathed in religious error) with Catholic dogma, one would think that Buchanan might tell us how binding he views the Council and Pope John Paul XXIII, in whose eyes it "gleamed."

In a lengthy chapter, "Blessed Sacrament,"[10] we are treated to a nostalgic view of the old Church. It had "awe-inspiring solemnity, power, and beauty ... which attracted people who were seeking the permanent things of life." Its beliefs were completely true. "Ecumenicism was not what we were about. We were on the road to victory. Why compromise when you have the true faith?"

Today, Buchanan knows this has all been swept away.

> The Catholic Church of the 1950s was not taken from without. It was surrendered from within ... Mass attendance is down. Vocations are down ... The old Church, which was always there, unchanged and unchanging, seems to have disappeared ... Outside a sign reads UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT... It was a magnificent institution in a splendid era; but that old Catholic Church, militant and triumphant, lives only in the recesses of memory.[11]

Yet, after this long dirge, Buchanan refuses to engage the debates among those who have been and are resisting these trends.

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Thus, he has not only maintained a life-long loyalty to the now demonized heroes of the fifties right, such as Generalissimo Franco, Senator Joe McCarthy and General MacArthur, but also has found it difficult to abandon his attachments to Richard Nixon in particular and the Republican Party in general. "Whether Nixon was right or wrong was not the relevant issue. Even if they had booted it, he had a right to be defended; and his friends had a duty to be there."[8]

This passionate unwillingness to abandon old causes and people explains why much of Buchanan's writing is descriptive and exhortatory rather than reflective. This is the way things were. This is the way we (family, friends, Catholics, conservatives) did things. Things were good then. Let's fight to defend or bring back all those things.

But it is the lack of a critical sense in Buchanan that sometimes inclines his writing and thought to superficiality and an unwillingness to dig beneath the surface. This helps explain his tendency to toss out witty, biting quips about matters that he seems unwilling to think about long and hard. And this trait is deeply embedded in his most recent work, *The Death of the West* and its approach to the West's racial dilemma.

The same trait also helps explain Buchanan's approach to Jewish issues. Repeatedly, he has hinted at various aspects of such issues in a flippant way, for which he has been roundly condemned in the media. Yet, invariably, Buchanan fails to rise to the occasion. After uttering or writing rather sly wisecracks about Jews or Jewish issues, he never proceeds to a thorough statement or analysis of why there are so few Jews in combat, or why John Demjanjuk is hounded forever while tens of thousands of former Communists, clearly guilty of similar or far worse crimes, are allowed to roam forever free, or why Jews constantly seek to break down America's immigration laws and moral / religious standards. Nor does he ever suggest clearly what might be an appropriate response from Christian Americans to Jewish animosity toward their religion and culture.

Simply stated, the answer to Mr. Buchanan's strange behavior seems to be that in 1950s Washington a Catholic could make a joke or nasty comment about Jewish liberalism. However, one didn't think or speak long and hard about the matter. He just does not book fights that weren't on the fifties schedule.

## Buchanan and Vatican II

Pat Buchanan, as everyone knows, is a Catholic. He is also what is alternatively referred to as a conservative, orthodox, or traditionalist Catholic. (I realize these terms have very specific meanings among believing Catholics. I am using them in a more general way here.)

Buchanan is never shy in denouncing the changes in the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council—or so it seems. In fact, he never engages the question of what these changes might mean for a believing Catholic. If the Church has, for over four decades, abandoned so many of its rituals, replaced so much of its basic dogmas, and essentially abandoned talk of converting those of other

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Such comments are, obviously, softened attacks on three of the fundamental propositions of the powerful, organized American Jewish lobby: that World War II was a Holy War never to be questioned, that all Americans must forever feel guilt over not doing enough to save European Jewry from Hitler, and that the best interests of Israel and America are, at all times, identical.

Such positions are indeed courageous for one who wishes to enter—or remain within—establishment-controlled discourse. But they were fairly common positions in the writings of conservatives during the 1950s. The books published by such houses as Devin Adair, Caxton, Bookmailer, and Regnery and the columns frequently featured in *National Review*, *The Freeman*, *American Mercury*, and *American Opinion* often questioned American involvement in World War II as well as the unilateral guilt of Germany and Japan. They were also not afraid to criticize Zionism and American support for Israel. In fact, it was Devin Adair that, virtually single-handedly, kept in print for years the works of the Jewish anti-Zionists Rabbi Elmer Berger and Alfred Lilienthal.

Buchanan's willingness to embrace positions long out of favor, provided they were in favor in the fifties, is key to understanding his strengths and weaknesses. To the Reform Party candidate, the postwar era was the high point of American and indeed, it seems, world history. "Neither the world nor the United States will ever again be what we were in the aftermath of the Second World War." So much of what Buchanan writes is a justification of the world view he received from his father and the Catholic schools and churches of 1950's Washington, D.C. What followed the fifties was the beginning of the end. "[M]y generation, which grew to manhood in the 1950s, was so different from the generation that followed."[5]

Pat Buchanan also sees himself as a fighter. His "mother and father took fistfights as a part of growing up." "But Pop was right. Sometimes you had to fight." Endless pages of his autobiography are taken up with detailed accounts of the fights of his and his brothers' youth. A victim is beaten so his "face was almost unrecognizable."[6] Glasses shatter, blood spurts from noses as the Buchanan boys refuse to back down. They drink, fight, and pursue the girls while remaining robust Catholic conservatives. One is reminded of Hilaire Belloc's praise of his youthful friends for having "kept the Rabelaisian plan / And dignified the dainty cloisters / With Song, Stoicism, Wine and Oysters." This robust, almost pagan, embrace of life, coupled with Catholic piety, seems to be unique to the Roman Catholic Church while it yet flourished. It is central to understanding Pat Buchanan's self image.

He also sees himself as a loyal man, even when the strings of loyalty are stretched to the point where many might think they would better break.

> That someone stood by his friends in trouble [was in Buchanan's childhood] about the highest compliment you could pay; and virtually the worst term that could be used about anyone is that he was 'chicken,' someone who, when fighting started, ran out on his friends.[7]

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As he wrote in *The Great Betrayal,* "But re-creation of a just economic order is a prerequisite of the restoration of the moral order." In words long unspoken by a self-described man of the "right" in the United States, the former presidential candidate called for a time "when property and wealth are more equitably shared, when a man can raise a family again on the sweat of his own labor."[1]

Buchanan's vision of a homogeneous society founded on social justice seems to avoid the theoretical contradiction that has plagued the American right since World War II: Why is a sense of organic community—incarnated in government and written into law— moral when it comes to religion and culture and somehow wrong in the economic realm? This contradiction is reconciled in many schools of European rightism (in fact, one of the unifying bonds of those varied racialist movements of both the pre- and post-World War II eras has perhaps been their common opposition to internationalist capitalism, consumerism, and unfettered markets).

Yet, while he seems to resolve one question, Buchanan studiously avoids dealing with another—whether America or, at present, many European countries, comprised of diverse and frequently antagonistic racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, are appropriate places for the organic unity of a just and compassionate economic system. His avoidance of this question is mirrored in his reluctance to grapple with other difficult topics of group identity, as we shall see shortly.

In *A Republic, Not an Empire,* Buchanan does question some of the dogmas of contemporary American ethnic taboos. He defends the War for Texas Independence and the Mexican War, both of which enjoy very low ratings among our dominant culture czars. Leaving aside any judgment on the Civil War, he seems to endorse Manifest Destiny and completely ignores a major source of modernist guilt, the "dispossession" of the Indians. In general, he favors those who fought on this continent to "drive aliens and intruders out of land they themselves coveted."[2]

But it is when America ventures beyond these borders that Buchanan turns critical. "It was under William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson that we would eat the forbidden fruit of imperialism," he writes. It is not only the now unpopular Spanish American War that he criticizes, however. World War I he condemns as of no benefit to America and "an unrelieved disaster for Western civilization." This is still permissible ground, but it is when he favorably reviewed America First opposition to U.S. entry into World War II that his book evoked a shrill rage of denunciation. According to Buchanan, "by 1950 Americans were asking what (the war) had been for." Both wars were in retrospect failures. They were evidence of what happens when "nations go crusading, instead of putting national interest first."[3]

Lastly, Buchanan questions, in very polite terms, the use of lobbying by "ethnic interests" in Washington when their goals do not have America's best interest at stake. He even goes so far as to posit a seemingly racialist notion that, "Generally ... statesmen do not take their countries to war unless their own kinsmen are the victims."[4]

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## Beyond Left and Right

On the one hand, Pat Buchanan is a man who minces no words, often shocking and angering the establishment media with his frankness. On the principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," it follows that he has said much to evoke sympathy from racially conscious whites, as well as from many others on the right whose views are now more or less "underground." Yet on the other hand, Buchanan's written and spoken record is full of contradictions, rhetorical flourishes that are never clarified (for example, his assorted one-liners about Jews, Zionists, and Israel that are pugnacious but often fail to offer any sustained treatment of the Jewish question), and what are often superficial treatments of complex issues, such as the link between race and the dangers of immigration. He is given to frequent romantic idealizations of the 1950s, of his adolescence, and of America (pre-1960s) in general. All these limitations lead him to run into several theoretical road blocks that he apparently is incapable of overcoming or unwilling to overcome.

*The Death of the West* is Buchanan's sixth book and the fourth that deals with his social and political world view. The first two, *The New Majority* and *Conservative Votes, Liberal Victories*, were primarily concerned with political strategies and tactics. In 1988 Buchanan published *Right from the Beginning*, a personal and political autobiography.

*The Great Betrayal* (GB), published in 1998, was concerned with Buchanan's protectionist and populist economics in particular and American sovereignty in general. He followed it with a largely historical work, *A Republic, Not an Empire* (RNE), which offered an "America First" foreign policy as an alternative to the crusading, messianic, democratic internationalism of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and their post-World War II (and post-Cold War) successors.

These are important works that both illustrate and help us understand the end of the postwar left/right paradigm. Buchanan has shown that there is nothing particularly moral or politically compelling in the old Buckleyite linking of internationalist militarism and corporate capitalism with a defense of the West as a religious, cultural, and racial entity.

Indeed, for Roman Catholics of an older generation, his communal economic notions are far more in keeping with what used to be called Catholic Social Justice theory. They have been articulated in *Rerum Novarum* and other late nineteenth century encyclicals of Leo XIII and publicly advocated by political movements ranging from the English Distributist League (of "Chesterbelloc" fame) and Spain's Falange under Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera to our very own Union Party of 1936 (supported by Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and others) and the Catholic Worker Movement (under Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin, before being hijacked by leftists). It is no surprise that Buchanan, who, according to all reports, has a sincere empathy for the working man, favors the economics of organic social thinkers over those of Adam Smith, Ayn Rand, and Bill Buckley.

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# THE ENIGMATIC MR. BUCHANAN

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**The Death of the West:**
**How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization**
By Patrick J. Buchanan
New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002
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*Reviewed by Hugh Perry*

The question, "Who is Pat Buchanan?" has engaged racially conscious conservatives, among others, for years. The quest for an answer reached fever pitch during the Virginian's three failed runs for the presidency between 1992 and 2000. Among many defenders of the white race, patience with Mr. Buchanan ended when he selected a black woman, Ezola Foster, as his running mate soon after he won the presidential nomination of the Reform Party. Despite her seemingly impeccable conservative credentials (at least by contemporary American standards), choosing her as his vice-presidential candidate struck many as an abandonment of his role as the most pro-white of all viable contenders for the presidency. For them he ceased to be a suitable "movement leader."

Yet the notion that Pat Buchanan was ever firmly on the side of white racial consciousness and the political forces that defend it has always rested on less than firm foundations and ignores large parts of his spoken and written record. Other parts of the same record, however, lend themselves to believing that Buchanan is on that side. Indeed, this ambiguity in his thought is not confined to race and racial issues, and, as with many other core assumptions of his philosophy, the truth about his views on race is very hard to unravel.

Mr. Buchanan's most recent book, *The Death of the West*, has been greeted—by some foes and some friends—as explicitly racial. That is hardly the case, but, in order to understand the weaknesses and strengths of this remarkable book, we must first explore some the author's previous writings and statements.

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# The Lost Philosopher

## The Best of Anthony M. Ludovici

EDITED BY
JOHN V. DAY

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Anthony Mario Ludovici (1882-1971) was one of Britain's most celebrated intellectuals.

One of the first and most accomplished translators of Nietzsche into English and a leading exponent of Nietzsche's thought, Ludovici was also an original philosopher in his own right.

Without a graduate degree or university professorship (indeed, without any need of them), Ludovici went over the heads of academia and directly addressed the educated public, supporting himself entirely by his writings.

In nearly forty books, including eight novels, and dozens of shorter works, Ludovici set forth his views on metaphysics, religion, ethics, politics, economics, the sexes, health, eugenics, art, modern culture, and current events with a clarity, wit, and fearless honesty that made him famous.

After World War II, however, Ludovici fell rapidly into obscurity. Why? Because Ludovici was a passionate, principled defender of aristocracy and conservatism and a fierce, uncompromising critic of egalitarianism in all its manifestations: Christianity, liberalism, Marxism, socialism, feminism, multiculturalism, crass commercialism, a debased popular culture, and the denial of biological differences between individuals and races, as well as the envious hobbling of the gifted and the sentimental coddling of the mediocre and botched.

Thanks to this volume, however, the lost philosopher has been found again, and far from seeming antiquated, his ideas are even more radical, relevant, and challenging in our day than in his own.

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"Of all unjustly ignored authors, Anthony M. Ludovici is certainly the one who today most deserves to be remembered. In his works, as imposing in quantity as in quality, this profoundly original philosopher never ceased to offer opinions on the most various subjects (from religion and education to art, eugenics, and the relations between the sexes) that are perfectly opposed to contemporary 'political correctness.' Even those who will disapprove of his remarks will be able to recognize their prescient character. For collecting in this volume the most significant pages of Ludovici's works, John V. Day without a doubt deserves the gratitude of all free spirits."—Alain de Benoist, author of *On Being a Pagan* (Ultra, 2004)

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instead to replacement policies, i.e. remove the birth control limitations they have placed on their own people and ship the surplus population to other areas of the world with the intent that the world population would eventually be largely Chinese.

Lynn's view of a future world ruled by China is rather dismal for the European peoples of the world, but as he notes:

> ...this is not really the point. Rather, it should be regarded as the inevitable result of Francis Galton's (1909) prediction ...that "the nation which first subjects itself to a rational eugenical discipline is bound to inherit the earth."

Richard Lynn has sounded the clarion call. We in the West still have the opportunity to control our own destiny, but do we have the will to seize it? Will our dedication to individualism and egalitarianism allow our destruction or can we overcome these twin albatrosses? Time indeed is the "beast that killed Egypt," and it does not appear to be on our side.

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Lynn says that there are about 7,000 disorders and diseases that are genetic in origin. Despite the vocal public opposition to eugenic ideas, many of these are today being dealt with in a eugenic fashion. We live in the age of "stealth eugenics," and most seem happy with the positive programs as long as their eugenic nature is not explicitly mentioned and especially if the word itself is not used.

In terms of intelligence, Lynn shows that "if none of the mentally retarded were to reproduce, the frequency of mental retardation in the next generation would decline by about 25 percent." He also suggests that in the near future the IQ of a child could be raised about 15 points over that of the parents with embryo selection if countries are willing to allow it. If this were to continue for a number of generations Lynn seems to believe that the mean IQ of most groups could be raised to about 200 with substantial uniformity within the population, which seems to be the theoretical limit for the process. Frankly, this projected uniformity seems doubtful, and while the standard deviation might be reduced somewhat, it is more likely that it would remain substantial. Also it seems reasonable to assume that, if allowed, existing higher IQ groups would more often opt for genetic improvement; thus we could expect substantial group differences, whether national, ethnic, or racial, to continue.

Perhaps as important in terms of a benefit to society in Lynn's view is a reduction of psychopathology via eugenics. As H. G. Wells noted, "They soil the world for others." Nevertheless, here Lynn urges caution since with any attempt to limit psychopathology via eugenics "there might be some loss of creative achievement."

Lynn's wake-up call lies in the final section. Here he argues rather convincingly that the Western nations are about to exit their time on the stage of history, to be replaced by China, which will rule the world perhaps until the end of time. Why? Because the Chinese accept eugenics as a positive good and are not hampered by Western liberal ethical concerns about population control and genetic manipulation. Lynn does hedge a little, saying that some cataclysmic socio-political upheaval in the West might prevent it, but his bet is on China. It is clear that he sees the Western concern for individual rights vs. the Oriental tendency to think in terms of value to the group as the straw that will eventually break the back of the West.

Lynn's view of a world ruled by China seems idealistic in that he argues that they would achieve submission of the rest of the world and then behave much as the European colonial powers did from Rome to England and France. He thinks they would provide the top administrators and bring in locals for the balance of the governmental structure. In addition, he thinks they would encourage the genetic improvement of the non-Chinese world they would then rule, especially that of whites whose creative abilities they would recognize as greater than that of the Chinese. This seems much too idealistic. Why assume that the Chinese would suddenly adopt Western altruistic values instead of looking out for themselves first as historically they have done? More likely they would look

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Lynn's volumes on eugenics, then *Eugenics* is the one to buy. Not only is it better edited, but also what it offers concerning the probable future of mankind is more important.

The book is divided into four parts: History and Introduction, the Objects of Eugenics, the Implementation of Classical Eugenics, and the New Eugenics. Lynn argues that eugenics now consists of eight core propositions. These are:

1. Certain human qualities are valuable.
2. They are valuable because they provide the foundation for a nation's achievements and quality of life.
3. Genetics substantially determine moral character, intelligence, and health.
4. With respect to the preceding proposition 3, the Western world has been in a dysgenic spiral for the last 150 years.
5. Classical eugenics offers a solution to number 4 via both "positive" and "negative" eugenics — positive to increase the number of higher quality (in terms of number 3) births and negative to reduce the births among those of lower quality.
6. New and coming developments in human biotechnology can be used to do the same. This he calls the "new eugenics."
7. Eugenics benefits both nation-states and the individual, whether parent or progeny.
8. History shows that suppression of technologies that serve human needs is not possible. The real issue about eugenics is what countries will develop it to its fullest and, if this will be a threat to the West, how can it be countered?

After his discussion of the origins of eugenics, Lynn briefly surveys the contributions of Hermann Muller, author of "The Geneticists' Manifesto," Carlos Blacker, author of *Eugenics: Galton and After* (1954), Cavalli-Sforza, and others. While they generally agreed with Galton's program, each emphasized or de-emphasized one or more of his ideas. Blacker, for example, believed that physical courage was the primary quality that should be promoted, with intelligence being second. Cavalli-Sforza argued that artistic talent and beauty were also quite important, and it seems reasonable that parents, if given the choice, would certainly opt for beauty in their offspring. Surprisingly, Lynn rejects the idea that beauty should be an objective of eugenics, but most will find this position unconvincing.

Lynn also notes that eugenics often had a nationalist flavor, such as with Blacker, who naturally wanted the British to develop *their* level of physical courage and Lee Kuan Yeu, who worked to improve the quality of the people of Singapore. Lynn contrasts this with the "universalist eugenics" of Raymond Cattell, whose *Beyondism* books encouraged "cooperative competition between competing nations" in developing eugenic programs. Interestingly, though, this could also be considered an expanded form of "nationalist eugenics," since each program was nation-specific, even though it might be regulated by a supranational entity like the United Nations, in Cattell's plan.

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Richard Lynn's production since his recent retirement from active teaching has been nothing short of phenomenal. Besides keeping up his steady stream of journal articles, he has produced this volume on the Pioneer Fund, a full treatment of eugenics (reviewed next in this essay) and in February 2002 released his latest, *IQ and the Wealth of Nations*, co-authored with Tatu Vanhanen of the University of Helsinki, Finland.

Like *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations*, his 1996 work, *Eugenics: A Reassessment*, is published by Praeger and is available at a price guaranteed to limit the number of copies sold. *Eugenics* is superbly written and well edited. It contains perhaps the finest statement of the nature and purposes of classical eugenics as well as a look at what Lynn calls "the new eugenics."

Any history of contemporary eugenics must begin with the English polymath Sir Francis Galton, cousin of Charles Darwin. Galton's lifetime output was prodigious, and his IQ has been estimated as about 190. (Gavan Tredoux has created a remarkable website that contains a number of the published works of Galton online at http://www.mugu.com/galton/). His contributions to statistical analysis alone would make him an extremely important figure in the history of science, but that was only one part of his contribution to the social sciences. Even though much of his research and output in eugenics occurred prior to the rediscovery of the work of Gregor Mendel in genetics, it has, for the most part, stood the test of time. But this should not surprise us, for animal breeders have been able to direct and improve the nature of their stock for thousands of years without the microscope or even a concept of genes.

Galton divided the population of a country into three groups for the purposes of eugenic activities. First there were the "desirables," who would be encouraged to have a number of children because of the value they added to society. Second were the "passables," who were about 80 percent of the population and were just that and should be left alone. Lastly were the "undesirables," whose reproduction should be limited by social controls. Lynn notes that this approach, which was called eugenics at the time, elicited the support from intellectuals across the political spectrum. Of course this was in the years pre-dating the conquest of the social sciences by Boasian egalitarianism that divided the world morally into evil racists and good non-racists (i.e., Boasian egalitarians). The linking of eugenics and Nazism by these egalitarians was such that the intellectual leaders of the Western world now almost universally see eugenics as evil, thus completing this propaganda conquest. But Lynn shows that this view of eugenics is merely leftist egalitarian propaganda. The Nazis' eugenics program was actually a pale shadow of that of other European countries, such as Sweden and even many of the individual states in the U.S.

Lynn's first book on eugenics, *Dysgenics*, resulted in an invitation to present two papers at a conference sponsored by the American Psychological Association. The proceedings of this conference were later published by the APA as *The Rising Curve*, edited by Ulrich Neisser. If one had to choose between

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projects over its history of more than sixty years, a few stand out above the rest. First, T. J. Bouchard, Jr. and others for the famous Minnesota Twins study discussed later in this review; then J. Philippe Rushton at the University of Western Ontario for his ongoing study of race differences and the r-K continuum; Arthur Jensen at the University of California at Berkeley for his psychological research, especially into group differences in IQ and the nature of *g*; and Roger Pearson and the Institute for the Study of Man for continued publication of the journal *The Mankind Quarterly* have all been recipients of Pioneer grants. In addition, Pioneer funded Richard Lynn himself, for his decades-long study of group differences in intelligence as well as studies of dysgenics and eugenics, and Linda Gottfredson at the University of Delaware, whose work in employment testing and intelligence has been some of the most useful sociological research conducted in recent years. In addition the list includes many others who have made substantial contributions to our knowledge base, such as Hans Eysenck, Lloyd Humphries, William Shockley, R. Travis Osborne, A. James Gregor, Bruno Chiarelli, Michael Levin, and Garrett Hardin. The latter was supported more for his emphasis on population issues than human diversity directly, though his views on human diversity and social issues are apparent in his last two major books, *Living within Limits* and *The Ostrich Factor*.

The Minnesota Study of Twins Reared Apart is perhaps the best known of Pioneer-supported studies. In fact, Pioneer has been the primary funder of the study since its inception in 1979. The study has two parts. First, the twins (who were all separated early in life) were brought in for a psychological and medical assessment, which lasted for a week. Monozygotic and dizygotic twins were identified. The testing included IQ, interests, psychomotor skills, personality, and academic skills. The medical portion of the assessment was a complete workup, including dental examination. The second portion was a longitudinal study of aging that lasted for ten years. The investigators were led by Thomas J. Bouchard, Jr. and included such luminaries as Nancy Segal, Matt McGue, and David Lykken. The Minnesota investigators have published about 130 papers detailing their findings, and the study is generally considered the most important twin study ever done. Even so, the University of Minnesota, which hosted the center that is carrying out the study, has come under attack by egalitarians because of the support of the Pioneer Fund. Thankfully, they have stood their ground, and the research project, which has lasted for more than twenty years, is now near completion.

Thus despite the attacks and the opposition of radical egalitarians, the Pioneer Fund has been able to support the work of many prominent scholars. As Lynn notes, grantees and directors "have been elected as presidents of the American Psychological Association, the British Psychological Association, the Behavior Genetics Association, the Psychonomic Society, the Society for Psychophysiological Research, the Psychometric Society and the National Council on Measurement of Education." They have also included Guggenheim Fellows, Nobelists, and an American Supreme Court justice.

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was governor of the state. On his mother's side, his grandfather had been a congressional representative from Kentucky as well as ambassador to Spain. After graduating *cum laude* from Harvard, Draper traveled throughout Mexico on horseback, personally witnessing the revolutionary environment of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. When war started in Europe, he joined the British Army and received both the 1914-1915 British Star Medal and the Belgian Croix de Guerre. He was wounded at Ypres, and after the U.S. entry into the war transferred to the U.S. Army.

Draper's private wealth enabled him to live the life of a gentleman philanthropist. In the 1920s he developed an interest in archaeology and anthropology, and during an expedition to the Southern Sahara helped discover the remains of "Asselar Man." For this he was made a fellow of the Royal Geographic Society and awarded the 1928 Gold Medal by the Société de Geographie. Draper was a small-aircraft pilot, a powerful swimmer, swordsman, and marksman, and hunted trophy class animals of most of the large game of the world. Besides his wide reading, as his interest in anthropology, human pre-history, and history developed, he was able to hire private tutors to keep him up to date on the latest information in a variety of fields.

For much of his life, Draper gave large sums to charitable causes, including conservation, art education, and health. He refused at least three honorary degrees from universities in the U. S. and abroad and remained a very private man until his death in 1972 from prostate cancer.

In 1937, after privately supporting a number of research projects in biology and psychology, Draper and four others, including John M. Harlan, later Supreme Court justice, founded the Pioneer Fund. Draper was its primary benefactor and at his death left 3.3 million dollars to the Fund.

So why was this extraordinary man and the organization he created and funded vilified by ABC News (Peter Jennings) and other media such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Review of Books* as proto-Nazi and evil? The *Wall Street Journal*, that citadel of property rights and free enterprise, has even hinted that perhaps men such as Draper should not have control of their own assets, since they might use them for purposes of which presumably the *Journal* would not approve.

In addition to the lengthy introduction by Harry F. Weyher, who has been president of the Pioneer Fund since 1958, *The Science of Human Diversity* consists of forty largely biographical chapters. Lynn notes that for the past sixty years the Fund has been "nearly the only non-profit foundation making grants for study and research into individual and group differences, and the hereditary basis of human nature... Over those sixty years, the research funded by Pioneer has helped change the face of social science."

The Pioneer Fund has been the primary funder of research into individual and group differences. It has made grants to organizations as diverse as the Sickle-Cell Anemia Foundation of New York, the Eunice Kennedy Shriver Center for Mental Retardation for a research program on Tay-Sachs disease, and the genetics department of Tel Aviv University. While the Fund has supported over sixty

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# SCIENCE FOR TOMORROW

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## The Science of Human Diversity:
### A History of the Pioneer Fund
Richard Lynn
Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2001
lxii + 581pp.

$75 U.S.

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## Eugenics:
### A Reassessment
Richard Lynn
Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001
ix + 367pp.

$67.50 U.S.

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*Reviewed by Louis Andrews*

Among today's egalitarian ideologues, the studies sponsored by the Pioneer Fund and the ideas of eugenics are perhaps the object of more hatred than the Second Amendment, patriarchy, and homophobia combined. In two recent books, Richard Lynn, a British psychologist, explores both the contributions of the Pioneer Fund and the promise of eugenics from the standpoint of reason, not political correctness. Lynn has published widely on psychological issues, especially on the worldwide variations in IQ based on ethnicity and race, for over thirty years. These two most recent of his books are the culmination of his career.

*The Science of Human Diversity* begins with a long introduction to Wickliffe Draper and the Pioneer Fund by the latter's president, Harry F. Wehyer. By all reasonable standards, Wickliffe Preston Draper was a memorable man. Born in New England in 1891 to a prominent and wealthy family, he had on his father's side an uncle who had been a congressman from Massachusetts and another who

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The Ontario public service, many municipal workforces, and also the federal civil service have their own workplace equity programs. These principles have also been upheld for several years by all of the big charter banks in Canada. Many large and medium-size corporations, such as Bell Canada, have such plans in place. They are also being carried out in public library systems, in many school boards at all levels (teachers, senior staff, administrative staff, support services), and in many media outlets. Furthermore, the enactment of workplace equity policies is often a precondition for private firms being allowed to compete for lucrative federal, provincial, and municipal contracts, and for being considered for the vast cornucopia of government loans or subsidies.

With the increasing immigration of visible minorities to Canada, their "percentage of population" is continually growing larger, with the result that continual increases in the hiring of visible minorities become mandatory. There is also a deliberate ambiguity as to whether the "percentage of population" is supposed to be that in a given urban region (visible minorities are now over 50 percent of Toronto's population), or of the country as a whole (which is far less, of course). These ambiguities are typically resolved in favor of visible minorities. This might mean that, in order to fulfill legally mandated employment equity obligations, no white males can be hired *at all* in some government institutions and private corporations! And then, the further complaint is made that, while designated groups may indeed be well represented at junior levels, they are still "drastically under-represented" at managerial levels.

As with affirmative action in the U.S., employment equity often tends to undermine the confidence of ordinary people in professionals who happen to be from "designated groups." It raises suspicions about the objective credentials of such professionals. An honest outlook would generally prefer to have *one* doctor or lawyer from a given group, who had successfully completed training based on strictest merit, and whose credentials were unimpeachable, rather than *ten* doctors or lawyers, some with possibly questionable credentials.

The success in the rescinding by Premier Mike Harris of the particularly onerous NDP quota legislation in Ontario can be seen as only the first step in the long road to restoring genuine equality of opportunity throughout the province of Ontario, and throughout Canada.

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It is true that a large majority of corporate heads are white males, however, do they actually collude with each other, in an exclusionary manner? Furthermore, how much influence do white males, *as white males*, have on the media, social, cultural, academic, and political sectors of society? Cannot a white male often be an ardent left-liberal, who would be totally disinclined to in any way help or promote another white male, unless they happened to be ideologically congruent? Also, considering the fact that the large urban areas of Canada have been truly multicultural for about twenty years (in a country with established European settlement of hundreds of years) is it at all surprising that Canadians of British or European descent are heavily represented in the nation's elites?

Another point to be made is that there are of course places in society where visible minorities are notably over-represented (for example in some sports, entertainment, and popular music areas). Those are highly prestigious, well-enumerated positions. Are white males allowed to complain that they are significantly under-represented in those areas? What should also be considered is that, while the concentration of economic wealth at the top of society is unlikely to change much, millions of middle-class, lower-middle-class, and working-class white men will be increasingly marginalized by the ongoing "equity" process. Should middle- and working-class white men be penalized for the sake of enacting the obsessions of the Canadian elites, who are in any case the most insulated from the possibly deleterious effects of "equity"?

Does the average person even realize how much of Canadian society is structured around employment equity? For example, virtually all universities have these formal or informal criteria governing such crucial aspects of their functioning as admissions (to undergraduate and graduate—including doctoral—levels, and especially to professional areas like law and medicine); the disbursement of scholarships; the hiring of academic faculty, of all support staff, of academic librarians and library assistants. College admissions in Canada, unlike in the U.S., are not determined by a standardized test like the SAT, although there are standardized tests for professional faculties such as law and management studies. Admissions to undergraduate studies at university are formally determined by looking at high school marks—although it is said that all of the more prestigious universities informally rely on ranking of high schools, to put the marks in some kind of context. Admission policies also definitely take employment equity into account—although it is not as easy to show what is happening as in the U.S., with its obvious disparities in the SAT scores of white / Asian and black / Hispanic students admitted. There is also the fact that such initiatives were pushed by the NDP onto the provincial justice system in Ontario: in the appointment of judges, crown attorneys, and police service board members; in the professional workings of the Law Society of Upper Canada (Ontario's professional legal body); and in the hiring of court support workers. For example, the NDP government tried to fire hundreds of (aging, white male) World War II veterans who worked as court support workers to make way for quota appointees.

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which is increasingly defined in an ever more radical fashion by a rather small, but very, very powerful leadership cadre. As far as disabled persons, they have probably been included as a "designated group" to give the employment equity policy an increased aura of "fairness" and "compassion." It could be argued that there is not all that much being done for most disabled persons—apart from giving them disability pensions and some subsidies for housing and assistive devices—which are not excessively generous. However, because employment equity includes disabled persons as a "designated group," publicly criticizing employment equity is given a stigma akin to kicking a person in a wheelchair.

It should also be noted that "white ethnic" groups such as Ukrainian, Italian, Portuguese, and Polish Canadians were never considered for inclusion under employment equity, although these groups had been subject to significant discrimination in Canada's earlier history. They are now considered part of the "dominant majority." How likely is it that a WASP liberal or visible minority manager will want to hire a member of a "white ethnic" group?

In the 1995 election in the Province of Ontario, the "employment equity quota law" of the New Democratic Party (Canada's social democrats, elected in Ontario in 1990) was a major issue. Mike Harris and the Ontario Progressive Conservatives (who are certainly more right-leaning than the federal PCs) promised to abolish "the quota law" upon election. They won the election over the disenchantment of many Ontarians with the left-wing agenda of the NDP. However, only a few weeks after employment equity (in its most extreme variant) had been formally rescinded in Ontario, the Liberal federal Canadian government of Jean Chretien reintroduced it at the national level! Chretien has recently won (on November 27, 2000) a third majority government (following victories in 1993 and 1997), and employment equity continues to be supported by the federal Liberal government. Mike Harris was re-elected with a majority in the Ontario Provincial Parliament in 1999.

It is important to look just how far formal and informal "employment equity" extends in Canada today. The term "employment *equity*" could itself be seen as dishonest. The American term, "affirmative *action*," is arguably more honest, as it identifies that extraordinary initiatives are being taken, and implicitly admits that equality of opportunity is not really being upheld. Unlike in the U.S., affirmative action-type policies are mostly considered a "closed issue" in Canada with no debate or questioning permitted.

## Double Standards for Canadian White Males

What does "employment equity" in fact amount to? It might well be seen, despite its gloss of "equality for all," as having the effect of significantly diminishing the career-prospects and life-chances of many men of British or European descent in Canada. Of course, the left argues that white males are the overarching power-elite in Canada today in that they invariably look out for each other's interests, and, furthermore, this alleged dominance is a moral outrage.

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There are also federal and provincial laws against discrimination and against "hate speech," which tend to stifle the expression of any more pointed public criticisms of employment equity, aboriginal policy, multiculturalism, bilingualism, and current-day immigration and refugee policies. And a decidedly left-wing media elite reinforces this climate of political correctness, especially in regard to social and cultural issues. While a considerable degree of free-market, economic conservatism is openly debated, social conservatism (focusing on upholding traditional notions of nation, family, and religion) is usually excluded and pejoratively ridiculed.

Finally, there is extensive government support for feminist groups, who have—among various other causes—championed "pay equity." Indeed, the wedge for employment equity in Canada was "pay equity" or "equal pay for work for equal value." It could be argued that there is an important difference between "equal pay for work of equal value" and "equal pay for equal work." The latter means that women should not be paid less than a man doing exactly the same job, whereas the former brings into play a vast, arbitrary adjudicating mechanism whose results are inevitably raising the pay of jobs where women predominate. So a secretary is supposed to earn practically the same amount as an engineer. In one major pay equity settlement, the "quasi-judicial" tribunal, the Canadian Human Rights Commission, ordered the Canadian Federal Government to pay $3.5 billion (Canadian) in back pay to women working or formerly working for the Federal Government. (By contrast, the entire budget for the Canadian military in the year 2000 was $10 billion.)

Indeed, employment equity is probably most strongly enforced in government workplaces. It has been argued that government, typically white-collar, jobs in many cases offer comparatively easy work at comparatively high salaries—especially when compared to most private sector jobs. They also offer generous pensions, and virtually ironclad job security, as layoffs in the public service are virtually unheard of, regardless of the economic situation. However, many government jobs demand a strong cleaving to politically correct orthodoxy, and those persons who are unwilling to step into line are unlikely to be hired, or, even if hired, they will probably find workplace relations very difficult, and have little hope of advancement.

Among the "designated groups," the most intensive efforts are probably focused on visible minorities and aboriginal peoples. If such a person has at least average competence, the benefits offered him or her are perhaps the most unstinting, and would usually only be withheld if the person were perceived as excessively "pro-majority" (derided as an "Uncle Tom"). Attitudes in Canada are very similar to the U.S. where, for example, Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas is subject to considerable public criticism, for being a black conservative. In regard to aboriginal peoples, it has been argued that a small circle of official aboriginal leaders and activists—while living extravagant lifestyles themselves—often does not pass on too many benefits to their own group.

It could also be argued that most of the advancement of women happens only insofar as they quite strongly hold feminist outlooks. Of course, in Canada today, many women are indeed highly enamored of feminism—

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It should be remembered that in Canada there are several other areas of governmental and corporate policy that overlap with employment equity. For example, there is the federal bilingualism policy, which requires that, in many cases, civil servants be bilingual (i.e., speak both French and English). This has meant that French-speaking persons in Canada, who are far more likely to know English, have easier entry into and advancement in the federal civil service. It also operates in favor of the English-speaking elites (most of whom tend to be liberal in political orientation), who find it easier to educate themselves and their children in French. It effectively discriminates against ordinary, English-speaking Canadians. The province of Ontario, with a French-speaking population of about 5 percent, has also moved to extensive bilingualism in the *provincial* civil service. The province of New Brunswick in the Atlantic region, with a French-speaking population of about 35 percent, espouses full official bilingualism. However, the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec—with about one-seventh of persons whose first language isn't French—is characterized by a unilingual provincial policy: French only.

## Multiculturalism, Immigration & Employment Equity

There is also the multiculturalism policy, which valorizes the maintenance of distinct, non-English, non-French, cultural affiliations in Canada, and requires that they be to some extent supported by all levels of government. The federal budget for multiculturalism is officially said to be $20 million (Canadian) a year (in the federal Department of Multiculturalism), but there are numerous funding initiatives through further areas of federal, provincial, and municipal governments. Although notions of multiculturalism in theory include "white ethnic" groups such as Ukrainian and Italian-Canadians, in practice, multiculturalism is increasingly defined as synonymous with *multiracialism*—signifying the enormous and enriching diversity of persons of color in Canada. Multiculturalism is now generally said to be the defining characteristic of Canada, and the touchstone of Canadian identity.

There is also the policy of aboriginal relations. The aboriginal peoples of Canada (Indians, Metis, and Inuit), are increasingly hoping to wrest vast resources from all other Canadians, based on claims of compensation for past abuses, and renegotiation of earlier treaties. It has been calculated that tens of billions of dollars are involved. The aboriginal peoples already receive support from all levels of government. In the Far North, a semi-sovereign entity called Nunavut has been created, and has already received $580 million (Canadian) from the federal government in about a year, to cover its budget deficit. Aboriginal peoples are also exempt from most taxes. For many people, being relieved from income tax would in itself be a distinct advantage.

There are also Canada's immigration and refugee policies. Since the 1960s, Canada's immigration policy has emphasized non-traditional sources of immigration. Since the 1960s, about 75 percent of immigrants have been from non-European countries. The combination of wide-open immigration and refugee policies results in the constant increase of the percentage of visible minority populations in Canada, which means that the perception that there are not enough visible minorities in certain Canadian institutions becomes exacerbated.

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# 'Employment Equity'
## Affirmative Action, Canadian Style

**Mark Wegierski**

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What is called "employment equity" in Canada often amounts to a system of preferential hiring and promotion in many significant areas and levels of society for so-called "designated groups" (women, visible minorities, aboriginal peoples, disabled persons). This policy is often officially explained as being an attempt to utilize the talents of every person in society, as simply being about "fairness." Officially, employment equity is said to offer an opportunity to a person from a designated group only when their qualifications are equal to those of a person from a non-designated group. Officially, the policy is supposedly based on employment "targets"—not "quotas." However, looking at the workforce composition of many federal, provincial, and municipal government workplaces, as well as of, e.g., big-city bank branches, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that what is taking place must in fact be preferential hiring and promotion for designated groups. A prominent recent book that gives a comprehensive critique of these policies is Martin Loney's *Pursuit of Division: Race, Gender, and Preferential Hiring in Canada* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

The manager who wishes to be considered "sensitive" today is faced with constant dilemmas in hiring decisions, although they would be very unwilling to discuss these problems in public. Since these designated groups encompass such a large percentage of the general population, there is required a constant process of deliberation, as to which job candidate is the most appropriate. In some cases, where very technical skills are needed, or where some candidates are overwhelmingly stronger, hiring continues to be decided on merit. However, there are many jobs that can be done at a basic level of competence by most persons. From the politically correct standpoint, unless there are special circumstances, such as very ardent left-liberalism, or gay sexual orientation, there is a general consensus that an able-bodied white male will not get the position. It is then a matter of delicate judgment deciding on the relative weight of the "designated" categories. For example, should a disabled white male be hired instead of a black female? An Oriental female instead of a white female or an aboriginal male or an aboriginal female? The person who bridged the most "designated" categories would probably have the best chance of obtaining the position.

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41. See: Barzan (2000). Cf: Kaplan (1994).

42. On the parameters of such "deconstructionism," see: Fallon (1998). While some of this scholarship is corrective, the overwhelming corpus derives from the academic New Left's disenchantment with traditional American values and institutions. Accuracy in Academia's monthly *Campus Report* provides a continuous update on manifestations of this ongoing "culture war." Cf: Ellis (1999), Satel (2000) and Jenkins (2001).

43. This because of a relatively open opportunity structure for all - not withstanding moderate SR among European-Americans. Historically a similar situation existed for Japanese, Chinese, Irish, Jews, and Poles as well as Italians who prospered despite intense aversion and ubiquitous exclusionary practices. These legacies are diametrically at odds with contemporary "civil rights" redistributive collectivism. See: Raimondo (2001).

44. Its power was demonstrated by both JFK and Reagan, as it was more recently by the McCain campaign.

45. Poll data indicates that approximately 85 percent of Americans identify themselves as Christians, while less than 25 percent oppose its symbolic or active role in the public civic institutional sector. In a nominal yet important sense, America remains a predominantly Christian national culture at the outset of the new millennium. Hence the enormous popularity of Bush's "faith-based initiative."

46. Thus the "Christian Coalition" and other faith-bound socially conservative denominations (e.g. Southern Baptists, Church of the Latter Day Saints), as well as certain evangelicals, join traditionalists in Roman Catholicism and mainline Protestant churches as a natural constituency. Their egalitarian universalism is generally limited to spiritual relationships between man and God within Christianity.

47. Although clans and tribes in the OECD area were primary performers of this role until the classical era, broader ethnic groups and nation-states have increasingly so functioned since then in the North. Tribalism and clan loyalties remain predominant in much of the Third World. Cf. Pearson (1996).

48. Cuddihy (1987) applies this to high capability differentials. He argues that anti-Semitism is partly a function of Jewish attitudes reflecting a sense of both intellectual and *moral* superiority vis-a-vis gentiles. This is reflected in the context of intense in-group loyalties and refusal to publicly acknowledge such characteristics.

49. See: Sowell (1996).

50. In both the UK and Germany (Karapin, 1999), the effectiveness of immigration control movements was linked to *local* social mobilization, which began to incorporate "normal citizens" despite initial activism by culturally defensive "extremists" who rioted in London and attacked asylum abusers in some German locales. Restraint becomes less probable the longer an effective response is delayed. As preferences assume the character of customary expectations among minorities, the latter are more likely to resort to overt and indiscriminate violence against whites to maintain them.

51. There is ample precedent and even irony. For the Left itself has instituted both employment sanctions and "sensitivity" indoctrination during the past two decades. More recently, it has advocated special penalties for white "hate" crimes and "racism." The latter is intended to impose thought control by intimidating the expression of politically incorrect views.

52. Thus the *seething virulence* of attacks upon such popular conservatives as Ronald Reagan, Clarence Thomas, Al Rocker, John Ashcroft, and prominent critics of the Clintons.

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30. These encompass the national Democratic Party in the U.S., various Green and social-democratic or socialist parties, Italy's Radical Party, Canada's NDP and some liberals, as well as remnants of Communist parties. In virtually all cases, race has supervened class as the dynamic *primary* overt source of animus and militancy. Thus there has been a dramatic reversal from the primacy accorded by the left to class a half century ago.

31. Militant cadres or core activists who have bored from within since the Vietnam War era, should of course be distinguished from the far more numerous active supporters who in responding to egalitarian slogans are generally ignorant of ulterior social revolutionary objectives. See: Kimball (2000); Francis (2000).

32. See: Yablonski (1999); Oppenheim (2001).

33. Yet like other state regulations promoted by the left, including the Greens, these anti-white discriminatory practices raise costs and erode control over capital (i.e. the means of production). This pattern—frequently to vitiate actual or anticipated extortional charges of "racism," etc.—may be conceptualized as backdoor incremental socialism. Raimondo (2001) and Oppenheim (2001) elucidate on aspects of this process.

34. Yet even these "universalists" are less than purely so, given the priority accorded to their sectarian denominational interests. Ironically, their allies are Leftist-infiltrated "secular" or "liberal" churches such as the United Church of Christ, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians (Anglicans and Lutherans in Europe). Beyond these sectors, there are more broadly socially conservative congregations within the foregoing, as well as evangelicals and other denominations such as the Mormons, Southern Baptists, and especially the Eastern Orthodox, which endorses defensive nationalism. Among the latter there is receptivity to the patriotic movement. See: Childress (2001); Trask (2001).

35. In December 2000, the Pope publicly denounced immigration control movements in Europe as "racist" and "xenophobic." Cf: Hawkins (1994).

36. Bernstein (1994) describes the operationalization of such indoctrination. Subjection to ideological coercion often generates resentment and merely drives sentiments underground. They are fully aware that their own aversion toward members of "preferred groups" has not inhibited the latters' upward mobility. The fact that this has often been at their own expense intensifies their alienation. Similarly, their ethno-racial identity is reinforced by liberal emphasis upon (often imaginary) ancestral moral iniquity. Thus, such indoctrination may be ineffectual at best, and socially or sexually counterproductive at worst.

37. Hawkins (1994), Fallon (1998), and Kimball (2000) pinpoint the underlying dynamics of this ethno-cultural revolutionary drive. Cf: Raimondo (2001).

38. The Kyoto Protocol not only imposes a double standard on CO2 emissions that would lower economic well being in the North, but requires the latter to finance the South's measures to combat "global warming." See: Wojick (2001).

39. While defined in recent decades as "racism," the offensive is being reinforced by the U.N.'s High Commission for Human Rights which is sponsoring a series of conferences to pressure (Western) countries to adopt "legislation which outlaws (white) racism," as well as reparations for colonialism and oppression. See: "U.N. Conference...." (2001).

40. See *The Liberator*, published monthly by the Men's Defense Association for a plethora of studies and case histories suggesting male subordination and legal disabilities. Radical feminists are a major force behind the multiculturalist drive, and thus tend to soft-pedal "sexism" by colored males or those like Clinton who abet their cause.

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tendencies share a conviction that traditional particularistic loyalties are obsolescent and eradicable via environmental manipulation. Thus they are increasingly alienated from and mistrustful of patriotic movements. Indeed, this estrangement from ordinary citizens may eclipse their own mutual antagonism. See: Lasch (1995).

22. Although the latter is publicized as a benign regime to impede "global warming," its fine print envisages a massive wealth transfer to the Third World, which will adversely affect mass living standards in the U.S. and other OECD countries. See: Wojick (2001).

23. Extreme alienation from Anglo-Saxon institutions and heritage (Fallon, 2001) is particularly salient for blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Teenage Latinos, for example, in a recent national survey ("Intelligence Report," August 2001), articulated exclusive Hispanic identity in 54 percent of the cases and dual American and Hispanic in 37 percent. Already in (Chapman, 2001: 3-4) nearly 100 of America's largest cities during the 1990's, minorities became numerically dominant due to "immigration" and separatist white flight. During the same decade, minorities became dominant in California as 30 percent of European-Americans fled or otherwise left the state—one that is foremost among those most heavily impacted by the illegal alien (largely Mexican) invasion. Resistance to assimilation also appears to be growing even among some Asians and especially Muslims who have eclipsed Jews as the third largest minority. On these incipient Balkanization trends, see: Brimelow (1995: 193-99); Fallon (2001: 1, 3-7); Hispanics (2001); "Left Wingers" (2000); Lutton (1997); Payne (1997).

24. Zionist Jews and Japanese were the principal sectors in the past. More recently, Cubans, Chinese, and especially Mexicans have joined them in this respect. Yet the underlying deficiency is the failure to enforce legal proscriptions against dual loyalty. See: Geyer (1996).

25. See: Brimelow (1995); Chang (2000); Fallon (1998); Francis (1997, 1998, 2000); Lamb (1999); Madland (2000); McGrath (2000); Murphey (1993); Nelson (1994, 2000); Schmidt (1999).

26. According to Chittam (1996: 140), this is most probable when the minority component of a society approaches 25 percent. CS: Coleman (1994); Horowitz (2000); Kaplan (1994); Madland (2000); Smith (1999); Snow (1996).

27. The liberal and even for the most part neo-conservative media have been silent on increased anti-European PR during the last several years. Government policies resulting in white fatalities, property extortion, capital flight, and emigration—also affecting some Asians and even some colored—are reported regularly in the *Aida Parker Newsletter* and *American Renaissance*. The latter also systematically reports growing evidence of pervasive racism *toward whites* including numerous unprosecuted violent black hate crimes. Both tendencies are considerably more advanced in African "multiracial" states such as South Africa and Zimbabwe.

28. Although nominally universalistic, the three traditions tend to be racially selective in their contemporary denigratory bias. This de facto anti-Europeanism renders their ostensible universalism problematic.

29. In Marxist terms, the "oppressed" people of color have "nothing to lose but their chains." Although a particular group, their emancipatory interests represent universal needs and destiny of humanity. The dual scourges of capitalism and Western imperialism will be swept away as the Brown Revolution unfolds. Thus people of color are romanticized as the Western proletariat had been prior to the Cold War era.

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California State University in Long Beach summarizes the results of 75 scholarly investigations, 79 empirical studies, and 16 reviews and/or analyses, which demonstrate that women are as physically aggressive, or more aggressive, than men in their relationships with their spouses/partners. The aggregate sample size in the 20-plus years of studies in various locations by various social scientists exceeds 60,000 people..."

14. Minority enthusiasm for "reverse discrimination" in America appears to be fueled by such motivations. The short-term threat of urban violence justifies our classifying this as a form of extortion by minority constituency elites. These are reinforced by lesser extortionate threats of demonstrations, boycotts, and regulatory sanctions as well as class-action litigation. See: Oppenheim (2001).

15. Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams argue that affirmative action preferences reduce incentives for minorities to excel while simultaneously stigmatizing those who can succeed in a meritocratic system. Similarly, current PR against Europeans in Zimbabwe and South Africa is seriously affecting the infrastructure and economies of those countries, just as the mass expulsion of Indians adversely affected Kenya and Uganda several decades ago. Ironically these countries have all been seeking unlimited "development" and other "aid" from European donors!

16. Although Adorno and other neo-Marxist Frankfurt School intellectuals claimed that Nazi PR was largely pathological, their social democratic and New Leftist "revisionist" cousins appear to be suffering from quasi-genocidal pathology by actively pursuing a long term policy that is destructive not only of their societies but their own racial group—however defined. Indeed their virulent hatred of nationalists and those who defend the European racial integrity of Western societies is manifested by their promiscuous projection of similar animus upon such protagonists. Cf: note 9.

17. According to Census data, about 70 percent of current population increase is directly attributable to immigration, i.e. the migrants and their offspring. Approximately 90 percent of the latter are of non-European origin, while European-Americans within the U.S. are not even reproducing themselves. This in light of much higher fertility rates of non-European migrants, along with somewhat higher rates by domestic minorities, will result in minority status for European-Americans *before* 2050. See: Burke (2000); Camarota (2001); NPG (2001). Cf: Nelson (1994); Chittum (1996).

18. Similar policies and trends characterize most other European-based OECD Western countries. Recent EU efforts to reduce the illegal alien invasion, which increased by 800 percent during the 1990's alone, have thus far been half-hearted and largely ineffective. Their apparent objective has been to symbolically deflect rising mass support for nationalist parties.

19. Ironically, even some less doctrinaire socialists are beginning to take "human nature" seriously. See: Brociner (2001).

20. Indeed, recent comparative research on citizen "happiness" or "life satisfaction" by Michael Hagerty of the University of California (Davis) concludes that "(f)or the most part, the top rated countries are small and homogeneous." These include Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, and Luxembourg, in that order. Within the U.S., less diverse "heartland" regions where closer ties with family and friends are more salient rank highest. See: "Who's Happy?" (2001).

21. This narrow stratum of ideological globalists believes that their objectives require the voluntary and occasionally coerced transfer of sovereign authority from nation states to global institutions. Despite conflicts over global policies, both leftist and neo-conservative

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reactions to present or past European-American "oppression." Upon these dubious empirical and logical premises, an array of racial double standards are morally rationalized. When opportune, the latter are reinforced by a radical substantive reinterpretation of traditional American egalitarian procedural norms. This goal of "equality," however, is at variance with leftist promoted empirical patterns. Thus, as in federal or state employment, when (inappropriate) demographic proportionality is attained "affirmative action" continues. Hence, in excess of 17 percent of current federal employees are black ("No Shortages," 2001). Group affinity rather than "equality" or oppression more logically explains such patterns of anti-white liberal racism.

9. This is not to imply that other factors do not influence the intensity of such natural culturally reactive sentiments. The former include changes in socio-economic conditions, affirmative action, discrimination, or reparations, and at times, even geo-political conflict and involvement abroad. Some of these variables are occasionally addressed in social science literature, but there is a dearth of attention to those mentioned in the text. This is probably due to the virtual monopolization of race relations research by the Frankfurt School-influenced leftist intelligentsia. The latter attribute SR to capitalist patriarchal institutions that socialize males to become fascist-vulnerable authoritarians. Reflecting Freudian influences, this is diagnosed as a form of social pathology. Only radical destruction of such traditional institutions as the family and capitalism (i.e. property rights) can—in conjunction with public school and media indoctrination—attenuate SR (what will be defined as "Sentimental Racism" (SR) below) or "prejudice," "stereotypes," "xenophobia," etc. Using slogans like "diversity" and "social justice," New Left subversives are currently implementing this program. See: Nelson (2001). Cf: Hawkins (1994); Hoff-Sommers (1994); Kimball (2000); and MacDonald (2000).

10. Actual or culturally transmitted experiences engender such attitudes. They tend to neutralize egalitarian or multiculturalist ideological indoctrination by left dominated media or "educational" institutions including coerced "sensitivity" brainwashing. Put differently, "stereotypes" and "prejudice" are only minimally a function of pathological "social construction." The same may be said of race itself. Indeed, some cultural attributes may be genetically influenced, according to evolutionary psychology. See: Levin (1997); Pearson (1996); Rushton (1995); Whitney (2001).

11. Although it may be inappropriate to categorize Jews as a "race," Cuddihy (1997) and MacDonald (2000) cogently argue that ubiquitous anti-Semitism is at least partly attributable to such group characteristics as clannishness and a morally superior attitude. Other attributes might explain European-American aversion to blacks.

12. The left's drive for coerced association and its promotion of a sense of "relative deprivation" among minorities has contributed, along with "affirmative action" discrimination, to an intensification of aversive racial animus in recent years. See: Horowitz (1999).

13. Truly *rare* is its absence, which *is* in need of explanation. Yet even this should *not* be equated with non-violence or peace. Our most sanguinary wars are civil—including those involving the same racial or ethnic groups. Similarly, radical feminists allege that our most violent institution is the largely racially or ethnically homogeneous traditional family. They ignore the fact that women are the most frequent initiators of violence in such settings, just as they (non-married especially) account for most child abuse. Stanley (2001), for example, reports that "A recent bibliography by the Department of Psychology at

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infuse our formal institutions and norms with a Third World content. Beyond that, separatist movements and even civil war may beckon. The longer left-liberal racist double standards are honored, the greater is the probability of such a denouement. This then is the New Millennium's sequel to Myrdal's "American dilemma."

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## ENDNOTES

1. "Bush: No Friends on the Right" (2001).

2. As implied, doublespeak and operational symbolic inversion already characterized modern liberalism's repressive tolerance. Some indicative studies of its damage to major institutions include: Bernstein (1994); D'Souza (1992); Gross (1997); Hoff-Sommers (1994); Jatras (1998); Patai (1998); Satel (2000); Schmidt (1997); Weissberg (1998).

3. During and following the Vietnam War, New Leftists entered such major institutions as the media, academia, mainline churches, organized labor, philanthropics, NGO's, etc. By the 1990s, they had risen to positions of influence or dominance in these and other institutions that set the radicalized parameters for "liberal" civic discourse. See: Kimball (2000).

4. The latter are rather systematically reported in the following national periodicals: *Middle American News; Human Events; National Review; American Renaissance;* and *The Liberator*. Cf: Collier and Horowitz (1997); Lynch (1992); Taylor (1992); and the sources in note 2.

5. The term neo-conservative is commonly used to distinguish them from the smaller nationalist traditional conservative tendency, which includes some Republicans as well as Pat Buchanan's followers, the Council of Conservative Citizens, etc. Within the intelligentsia many ex-liberals redefined themselves as neo-conservatives as the New Left began to influence and then penetrate the national Democratic Party from the late 1960s on.

6. This along with an intense desire for social acceptability largely explains both their defensiveness and timidity in resisting virulent liberal attacks involving not only race and gender but also redistributive welfare statism, environmentalism, judicial activism, the erosion of states' rights in education, law enforcement as well as other areas, etc.

7. Collier and Horowitz (1997). This is a salient complaint frequently encountered in such neo-conservative mainline weeklies as *Insight*, *National Review*, and *The Weekly Standard.* Yet a more traditional conservative nationalist, Sam Francis (2001: 33-34), cogently argues that customary meanings are alien to contemporary usage of "racist" invective by the left. Since it is routinely employed to delegitimize or intimidate opposition to policies that will enhance non-white elite or institutional power, opponents' reasons and rationales are beside the point. Thus rhetorical demonization has supplanted reasoned civic discourse.

8. Although any policy bias intended to favor or harm one race may be defined as racist, the left ("progressives," Afro-American elites, liberals, etc.) denies that an "oppressed" race can be "racist." Preferences or anti-white animus are defined as purely defensive

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## The Symbolic Inversion of Leftist Demonization

As implied above, European-American racism is less of a "problem" than is the subversive jihad of our even more racist "multicultural" left. Generic group self-preference is as ingrained in human nature as is selfishness. Although self-control along with avoidance of excess are a realistic legacy of our Classical and Christian Western tradition, utopian leftist efforts to socially reconstruct human nature have both failed repeatedly, and often inflicted enormous suffering. Scores of millions have been killed, imprisoned, or driven into exile during the past century by pseudo-egalitarians.

In some cases, as in the West and particularly America today, "progressives" are actually intensifying the racism of minorities—under the guise of "multiculturalism" or "anti-racism." Such "social justice" agitation invariably catalyzes an intense reactive racism by Caucasians.

The self-styled "egalitarian" left believes it is using minority constituencies to seize power to create a harmonious oppressionless multi-racial utopia. Yet they will ultimately—as in South Africa today—be devoured and purged by this process as they become expendable to their "Brown Revolution" beneficiaries.

Meanwhile these "liberals" or "progressives" routinely reject tolerance in the name of tolerance, demonize their principled opponents rather than engage in civil discourse, define character as conformity with their biased views, appeal to the law while practicing double standards and disruptive violence, etc. Simultaneously, these liberal bigots project their intense hatred of their "own" country's heritage, as well as conservative, religious, or nationalist adversaries upon the latter.[52]

Even "democracy" is transformed into its opposite as they opportunistically seek rule by decree (executive or judicial) to circumvent recalcitrant elected legislatures. It is no wonder that these cosmopolitan reductionists recoil from the patriotism of Middle Americans, whom they disdain as "Bubbas" and "rednecks." For they alone are morally privileged to be arrogantly racist without being "racist." This by their self-anointed mission to "liberate" their people of color from "oppression."

In effect, then, racism is always defensible if it promotes non-white supremacy via political dominance and privileged collective socio-economic status. The latter is, in turn, being effectuated by state regulation, redistributive tax-expenditures, and coercive "civil rights" double standards. Permissive Third World mass immigration progressively strengthens the electoral constituency backing this incremental expropriation of European-Americans. For the latter, however, defensive racism is invariably illegitimate!

As America is gradually denuded of its European and Anglo-Saxon ethno-cultural institutional heritage, the last threads of civility and consensual governance will erode. Urban violence, coercive state intrusiveness, and a deflation of social trust as well as civic decorum will conjoin to incrementally

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human nature. Only leftist secularization of Christ's teachings can rationalize contemporary aggressive PR against European-Americans. Indeed, ethno-cultural neo-Marxism is its historical origin.

Yet PR may also operate within defensive relational dynamics. What if a racial or ethnic group's symbolic identity, freedom of association, affective / aversive expressional liberty, or ability to receive proportionate rewards for its talented contributions to society are threatened? Is there any reason to expect assaults to moderate as whites approach minority status in the coming decades?

European descendants are currently targeted by such threats of varying intensity. These include so-called affirmative action and other sources of privileged status for minorities and immigrants in European countries. This despite the globally attractive attainments of the societies Europeans created, and their decades of generous aid that has been mismanaged or stolen by incompetent and corrupt Third World elites. Even the meager infrastructures of the colonial era have been allowed to deteriorate—particularly in Africa where productive Europeans and Asians have been expelled or expropriated.

Yet in applying defensive PR before it is "too late" in the OECD area, Christian norms admonish avoidance of excess as well as a preference for mild variants. Even then reasonable alternative choices (e.g. neighborhood schools) should be given priority over coercive exclusion. The latter, in turn, should generally be rationalized in non-racial terms (e.g. functional literacy requirements for voting or mass deportation of illegal aliens) whenever possible.[50]

Similarly, civil rights laws should be amended to accord primacy to freedom of association in private sector employment, educational, and residential settings. The converse—coerced inclusion—not only also infringes property rights, but it is a primary catalyst of resentment, conflict and flight. Such incremental socialism in conjunction with coercive Soviet originated political correctness underscore the sub-rosa neo-totalitarianism drive of our so-called "progressives."

## What about the "Fifth Column"

The New Left-originated deconstructionist sector of the intelligentsia is the driving force behind anti-European ideological multiculturalism. Their active supporters deserve the same degree of "tolerance" accorded to conservatives in the institutions they dominate.

As distinguished from unsophisticated yet often well-meaning "fellow travelers," the "hard core" globalist militants should be stripped of citizenship rights and deported to any Third World country that can be induced to offer them residency. The most recalcitrant elements might be tried under the Smith Act or for treason. Once convicted, they may be sentenced to new patriotic "re-education centers" in central Alaska.[51]

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Less "natural" or benign are the consequences of "political correctness" for the relationships of various races and those of mixed stock. People of color may manifest affect or pride on one hand, or articulate condemnations of whites. Caucasians alone are subject to a liberal double standard inhibiting any display of consciousness, let alone pride, or the slightest pejorative views of non-whites.

This intensifies a European-American sense of victimization and concomitant resentment while forcing it underground. As white-only "hate" crimes and gradually thought crimes are increasingly prosecuted, ever more European-Americans will opt to join their "own" militant patriotic movement.

Even in the absence of such a development, white SR can no longer remain tacit or latent. For when this group is systematically denigrated and sanctioned economically over time by those encouraging SR among people of color, it will be unnatural not to react in a similar manner. Thus the real issue pertains to SR's intensity rather than its mere existence. The former not only engenders zero-sum conflicts, but ultimately provokes a crisis of governance.

## Is IR "Worse" Than SR?

Given its use by the left as invective to either excuse failure or condemn a Western society, one might falsely assume that IR was somehow an insidious obstacle to mobility for those with talent. In fact, it merely reflects the ubiquity of even mildly aversive SR. In such cases, the latter cannot but be reflected by definition in various societal "institutions." Such is also the case in Asia and Africa.

Again, this attitudinal variable is normally mild in character. Often it co-exists with generally non-exclusionary employment or educational policies. As with its underlying SR, IR may be intensified by experiencing the negative characteristics or behaviors of another group.[48] This is particularly true where the latter is on the average less capable in some ways, yet accorded privileged legal status as in "affirmative action" group preferences.[49]

## Can PR Be Justified?

Those who seek a "color blind" society contend that such "affirmative action" group preferences are an unwarranted form of PR against European-Americans. Using Christian "Golden Rule" norms, the latter point may be conceded. Indeed, this ethical constraint in conjunction with the Christian norm of "mutual respect" would seem to preclude such overtly discriminatory aggressive policies against whites, and particularly white males.

Nevertheless, "liberal" Protestants and Catholic "liberation theologians" strongly support these and similar aggressive PR measures in the name of Christianity. They appeal not only to such precepts as "it's better to give than receive" and "turn the other cheek," but also to the principle of equality. The last, however, pertains to the divine spiritual relationship, while the former imply voluntarism rather than state coercion. They are also generally antithetical to

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natural and ubiquitous; 2) it is militantly promoted by the neo-Marxist "multiculturalists" against European descendants; 3) thus the latter are being increasingly discriminated against by being singled out as present and historic "oppressors;" 4) global capital and universalist churches have acquiesced in this process; 5) unless growing anti-white racism is halted, European descendants face at best a future of massive wealth expropriation, subordinated exploitation, and territorial dispossession, which is already prompting ubiquitous "white flight."

Before focusing upon specific policy priorities for a defensive movement, two overall identity attributes will be stipulated in the belief that they may enhance both success and the forging of a viable community. Indeed both are interrelated and mutually reinforcing on one hand, while being in accord with human nature or intrinsically valued on the other.

First, the appeal of a racially defensive mobilization can be strengthened by Western ethno-cultural and nationalist symbolic frame of reference. Nothing is sacrificed, since European-American leadership and norms are imbedded in the historical achievements of our country. Furthermore, overtly *patriotic appeals* evoke less hesitant support from Middle Americans in the present conjuncture.[44]

Notwithstanding the universalist institutional pretensions of certain churches, the Christian character of America's heritage is also integral to our contemporary identity.[45] Thus, this orientation should be underscored by affirmation of such Christian norms as "mutual respect," restraint, self control, and even the "Golden Rule." Like other aspects of our national heritage, the foregoing are being flagrantly profaned by the largely atheistic "multicultural" left.[46]

Surely one dimension of European-American group integrity and self-interest pertains to such Christian ethical idealism. It thus further legitimizes a patriotic national movement and broadens its appeal. Indeed, a dearth of "moral values" is a salient public concern. This focus upon Christian heritage is essential when we consider the array of antithetical institutional resources dominated by left-liberal secular advocates and pseudo-Christian "liberal" fellow travelers of the "Brown Revolution."

At a yet more operational level, there are important tactical questions that should not be ignored. Here we conclude with a heuristic effort to address briefly some if not all of these issues. The proffered "answers" here are tentative, and will be ultimately resolved during the mobilization process.

## When Is SR Defensible?

Always, as it is an inevitable or natural concomitant of "diversity," and does not necessarily harm others. As long as consanguineous kin or affinity groups, including tribes, distinctive ethnicities, nations, and races exist, affect and aversion will be integral to the human condition. Indeed, they are essential to a sense of particularistic identity and the protective function of such natural groups.[47]

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The latter's relative successes in both economic and cultural areas are a powerful magnet for peoples of the South.[43] But just as, for the most part, they are to blame for the failure of their own societies, so shall we if by default we allow our civilization to rapidly import and be overshadowed by theirs. We can't be as certain of success as we can of failure if the requisite effort is not made.

Preference for continued European-American leadership is essential for the preservation of those ethno-culturally derived Western traditions, values and institutions, which have been integral to our economic success as a modern "magnet" society. Otherwise we shall suffer the Roman empire's fate within less than a century. Hence it is essential to respect the natural law of affinity rather than defy it.

European-Americans should not only neutralize the shackles of "reverse discrimination," but they must remain clearly preponderant in terms of numbers, which now are less than seventy percent. That implies a short run priority for sharply reducing and altering immigration preferences, while extirpating those "diversity" policies that progressively impede assimilation. Perhaps ten to thirteen million illegal aliens and those non-citizen foreign born who impose substantial costs upon citizens should be deported to their countries of origin.

The foregoing normative proposals, like those to follow in our concluding sections, are only intended as illustrative of the *type* of measures now essential to curtail accelerating "multicultural" subversion of the American Constitutional order. For almost seven decades and particularly in recent ones the liberal assault upon traditional values and institutions has made considerable inroads.

The 2000 national electoral "crisis" symbolized our ominous breakdown in respect for our Constitutional heritage. Both the rule of law and "separation of powers" were openly attacked by left-liberal multiculturalists who invoked the neo-totalitarian "will of the people." In so doing, they mimicked fascists and Communists who have brought death to millions abroad in the name of a mythological Rousseauean "general will."

Alternately the left is invoking "human rights" and U.N. conventions in its jihad against sovereignty. Yet, in the final analysis, it is national communities and their customs that remain the *primary* if not exclusive source of their governing norms. Moreover, they may increase and enforce qualifications for citizenship, entry, and exclusion. As in numerous Third World countries today, these may take account of race, religion, and ethnic origin. Globalist "human rights" radicals have not yet supervened sovereignty in this area. With neo-conservative acquiescence, however, they are on the verge of doing so in both America and particularly the European Union.

## Operationalizing the Paradigm

Because the foregoing discussion was largely limited to general considerations and trends, it fails to address—even heuristically—many racially specific policy issues. These flow from our major conclusions: 1) racism is

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propaganda is "skin-deep." Only leftist sectors of the alienated, and often hypocritical "progressive" white intelligentsia, internalize, yet do not necessarily live by such norms. Hence their intense distrust for and ubiquitous estrangement from—even their "own"—ordinary people who retain traditional identities and "prejudices."

Until the mid-twentieth century neither the Roman Catholic Church nor corporate capital overtly opposed Western nationalism. Even so, the Church has not significantly weakened it, while transnational capital's "free trade" mantra has evoked nationalist reactions (even protectionism) in the OECD area itself, as well as in the Third World. As for the left, virtually all internally supported Communist-led regimes historically assigned priority to their national or state interests. And in the wake of the Eastern Bloc's collapse, why were so many Communist apparatchiks "reborn" overnight as "nationalists"? Today, both Russia and China are intensely nationalist, as are Japan, most of Latin America, and the Middle East.

Indeed it is *only* in the West that neo-Marxian "multiculturalists" increasingly seek to attenuate nationalist sentiment by denigrating it as "racism" or "xenophobia." Cuban, Indian, Mexican, Palestinian, or Chinese nationalism, on the other hand, benefits from the usual partisan double standard. This subversive campaign operates as a veritable "fifth column" attempting to ensure de facto open gates and privileged status for the Third World migratory invasion.[37]

Simultaneously, through radical ecological pressures, allied leftist sectors endeavor to transfer Western wealth to the "oppressed" South under the aegis of UNEP accords.[38] The leftist assault upon defensive nationalism in the OECD area is essential for this process as well.[39] Unfortunately, neither such "aid," nor changes in the free trade regime under the WTO, will significantly affect Third World development prospects. For the constraints are primarily endogenous.

## Can European-American Civilization Survive?

Not only are Americans biased against pessimism, but there is also a cultural tendency to be less than candid in certain situations. Increasing numbers on *both* sides of this ethno-cultural conflict actually believe that the West has seen its day. In the future "the white man's burden" will be replaced by the "burdened white man"—if he is lucky. Indeed, militant feminists have, for the most part, already accomplished the latter.[40]

Like most non-white cultures and empires, Europeans have harmed others over the centuries. Yet the West's mixed record on this score was often less brutal and more emancipating than its rivals and predecessors.[41] Furthermore, it is specious to condemn behaviors decades or centuries earlier because they contravene recently legitimized ethical norms. Particularly when the subversive or ulterior motive is to deconstruct—that is morally condemn—our current civilization.[42]

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nationality as well as racial integrity. Corporate elites financially support "Brown Revolution" advocates and liberal fellow travelers who denounce nationalists seeking to control immigration as "racists," "xenophobes," or "extremists" of the "far right."[32] At the same time major corporations also practice internal and support external group preference discrimination against European-Americans. This is rationalized as necessary to enhance short-run bottom line returns domestically and abroad. As implemented, however, such "affirmative action" may be increasing costs and thus reducing competitiveness.[33]

Thus, while anti-white and especially white male discrimination cannot be reconciled with efficiency-driven "free market" economic and meritocratic universalist ideology, such racist and sexist bias is regarded as a minor—even temporary—deviation and pragmatic imperative. Hence the adverse effects upon efficiency and costs tend to be ignored. The same may be said of America's enormous trade imbalance and its effects upon national sovereignty.

Less overt compromise of principle appears to characterize Christian universalism. Certain Protestant evangelicals, and particularly the Roman Catholic hierarchy, are actively proselytizing in Third World countries. For both, Christian identity and inclusiveness supersedes ethno-racial particularisms, as do church interests in minimizing obstacles to expansionism.[34]

Hence, while not militantly anti-European, the Roman Catholic Church has generally sided with the Third World's "have nots" and favored both permissive immigration as well as large-scale wealth transfers or "aid" to the South.[35] It has also tolerated Marxist-influenced "liberation theology" clerics and organized lay activists. They, in turn, openly constitute a significant and growing segment of the "popular" Church. The latter has actively supported Marxist Third World revolutionaries since the 1960s.

At first glance these three "universalist" forces appear to be not only formidable—which they are—but also irresistible. Yet their ideological impact can be easily overestimated. For all three orientations in varying degree conflict with the consanguinal kinship propensity of human nature.

Because the previously discussed ethno-racial affinities and differences are more than merely "socially constructed" cultural artifacts, their underlying psychological influence cannot be easily eradicated even by sustained "sensitivity" propaganda and coercion. The Bolshevists initiated such policies—labeling nationalists "racists"—as early as the 1920s. Can we ignore the subsequent Soviet debacle and nationalist denouement after seventy years? Or that of Yugoslavia and, in lesser measure, China, India, and Canada? Even in the United States, social and ethnic polarization is intensifying despite decades of "sensitivity" indoctrination and coercive repression.[36]

When man has been genetically programmed for millennia to accord primacy to one's kin group, it is fanciful to imagine extirpation of this inbred trait in a matter of decades by environmentally deterministic "social engineers" or universalist ideologies. For most ordinary persons, the effect of such coercive

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If the racial and ethnic polarization of American politics are viewed in the context of a secular decline in Anglo-Saxon norms such as those pertaining to limited government, the rule of law, property rights, liberty of expression as well as thought, individual responsibility, the right to keep or carry arms, and freedom of association or contract, it would seem that the future is less than auspicious. At best there may be a Yugoslav-type scenario by the mid or late twenty-first century. At worst, a South African fate awaits European-Americans.[27]

## Parameters and Limits of the Universalist Challenge

Not only has race often functioned as a reinforcing component or dimension of ethnicity, both are inherently exclusive or, in the lexicon of sociologists, particularistic. A natural preference for one's own regardless of the existence or degree of aversion to other nationalities and races is a common attitude found among members of all ascriptive groups. Such affect, then, is integral to human nature. Yet it has been denigrated by three major contemporary universalist traditions as "racist" or "ethnocentric," as if such affinities were pathological. Indeed, xenophobia is commonly used as a synonym.[28]

Foremost among the enemies of Western pride and identity are the neo-Marxian "multicultural" Third Worldists. As noted previously, their anti-white racism results in ethno-social double standards. But this *apparent* particularism is in fact a tactical phase in a struggle for a global Brown Revolution upon behalf of an "exploited" colored humanity. Hence, the long run destiny of European societies is to be leveled down, and subordinated and eventually eliminated through coerced miscegenation—a veritable "final solution" to Western "racism."[29]

This long-term transformational strategy is the major source of racist "anti-racism" by the ethnocultural left targeting whites in the industrialized OECD countries. Fueled by tax funds, they replace satisfied demands with ever more extreme ones. Their presence is most salient in cultural infrastructures, the media, NGOs, domestic interest groups and left-leaning parties of the West.[30] Radical multiculturalism's ascendancy marks the triumph of 1960s New Left activists and fellow travelers.[31] Their immediate goal is to mobilize and forge militant coalitions of "oppressed" Third World peoples within the West and globally by emphasizing "human rights," including "immigrant rights," as well as ecological "injustices."

As mentioned previously, their influence has been facilitated by the acquiescence of other tacitly racist (i.e. anti-white) universalist actors. The latter's motivation, however, is less ideological than institutionally driven. Because they do not advocate PR, they *appear* more benign and even non-racist when contrasted with the revolutionary left. Yet it is their enormous institutional resources and multicultural policies that structure a very favorable environment for leftist deconstructionism and militant anti-white racism.

This is quite obvious in the case of transnational capital. Once internationalist and now globalist, the elites of major corporate actors have become increasingly anti-particularist, and therefore opposed to the patriotic defense of both

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Man's strongest affinities—community and altruism—began in the evolutionary process with his own kin group. Thus we feel most comfortable with, and are prone to trust, those most like ourselves. This pattern operates at the level of clan, tribe, and post or trans-tribal ethnic community. Within these, particularly the last, we are naturally most intimate and at ease with those who share social and other attributes (gender, class, age, occupation) with ourselves.

Genetic closeness and security or survival needs underlie the historic evolutionary, as well as the historic, role of such affinity groups. Diversity can alternatively threaten and / or reactively reinforce such affinities, but rarely supplant them.[20] Thus neo-conservative and self-styled leftist "progressives" alike encounter *enormous* public indifference and growing resistance to their rival globalist agendas. This notwithstanding a massive barrage of quasi-Marxian "inevitability" propaganda designed to demoralize nationalist citizens and counter-elites.

Left globalists have sought to accelerate "progress" by claiming hypocritically that both ethnicity and race are largely artificial ("socially constructed"), while simultaneously pitting their "oppressed" Third World peoples of color against more successful European-led Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries. In hypocritically playing this South-North race card, they are also fomenting multicultural subversion from *within* by seeking to maximize a "silent invasion" of Third World migrants despite the opposition of OECD citizens. As a result of demographic shifts, the former are intended to become ethno-culturally dominant in most OECD countries through demographic increase during this century.

Ignoring the disastrous lessons of contemporary Zimbabwe, South Africa, and the fate of other "diverse" nations (among others), these New Left inspired "progressive" subversives in liberal, Green, and social democratic parties blithely assume they will lead the eventual "brown revolution" against both white hegemony and capitalism in the no longer self-confident West. Indeed, the latter has been gravely weakened due to the propensity for concessions by neo-conservative and transnational corporate elites.[21] Consider such areas as race preferences ("affirmative action"), high immigration to depress wage pressures, and even the Kyoto Protocol![22]

Gradually it is becoming apparent that racial affinity and growing separatist appeal to certain minorities are weakening their American national identity.[23] Historically, this was consequential to the persistence of dual national loyalties.[24] In conjunction with leftist anti-Western cultural heritage deconstructionism, such trends constitute a clear and not too distant danger to American unity and integrity—as they will to Canada and several other Western countries.[25]

Obviously, racial solidarity can reinforce national identity when one or more national protagonists differ racially. But in a multi-racial state, it invariably functions—like ethnic diversity—to attenuate national or civic cohesion. As with tribalism in contemporary Africa and parts of Asia, ethnic and racial diversity—unless coercively suppressed—tend to be associated with high levels of conflict and even civil war.[26]

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While ever-present "institutional racism" is often alleged to excuse black or Hispanic performance shortfalls, Afro-American and liberal fellow travelers generally confuse this variant with punitive racism (PR). The latter involves policies which deliberately impose sanctions or constraints upon a particular race. During the past half-century, these have in most instances been far more moderate in the West than in Third World societies dominated by people of color. They are generally adopted when the integrity or autonomy of a dominant racial group becomes a perceived threat by the activities of another. In some cases, however, PR may occur in the absence of either a threat or even its perception. Such sanctions are most likely to be occasioned by a desire to pre-empt a future threat, exact revenge for past affronts, seize resources that are an object of envy, etc.[14] None of this is necessarily pathological or irrational, even when it results in material harm to the group engaged in PR.

Frequently associated with the foregoing in advanced capitalist societies is another contemporary motivator: ideology. One of the great ironies of the twentieth century is that the most militant Western protagonists of National Socialism have themselves engaged in PR against Germans, other Europeans, and Americans during the past several decades. These minority-supported white anti-fascist or anti-racist liberals (or social democrats) have used judicial and particularly executive decrees to discriminate against their "own" white race. This encompasses not only public or state sector job, contractual, and educational preferences, but equally the progressive infringement (i.e. coerced inclusiveness) of property rights and freedom of association in the private sector.[15]

Beyond such "affirmative action," the left has militantly supported mass Third World immigration to transform their societies. Further, such immigrants in the U.S. are beneficiaries of affirmative action preferences.[16] Self-styled "progressives" in America believe that this "silent invasion" of 1.2 million highly fertile people of color annually will reinforce the constituency for anti-white PR in the short run. By the next century, European-American opponents of open borders argue, the white race itself may be destined for demographic extinction due to repression, coercive emigration, and miscegenation.[17] Such consequences of the de-facto anti-European-American operationalization of liberal-left "multiculturalist" ideology may be viewed as "self-assisted genocide" for what will soon be a mere 10 percent of the world's population.[18] For this, there are no parallels in recorded history!

## Ethnic vs. Racial Identity

The globalist multicultural jihad is not limited to race, domestic preferences, and anti-Western deconstructionist ideology. Indeed the movement's variegated offensive has targeted national sovereignty (e.g. the Kyoto-UNEP regimes and proposed International Criminal Court) as well as local particularisms. Yet, like its international communist predecessor, globalism may also shipwreck on the shoals of human nature in decades to come.[19]

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measure of disdain may be common, hatred is not. For some, there are conflicting sentiments—admiration and aversive attitudes toward the "other."[10] The "mix" may lean far in the direction of positive affect in certain cases.

Aversion or disdain does not inevitably evolve into hatred anymore than admiration is necessarily transformed into love. The existence and intensity of aversive sentiments depend upon such factors as personality, ideology, racial attributes, or repugnant behavior.[11] It seldom becomes intense as long as geographic racial separation exists, and is unlikely when patterns of non-coercive association are characterized by mutual respect rather than a sense of inequitable exchange, envy, or revenge.[12] None of these aversive reactions are pathological. At extreme levels they engender civil discord—as in America or Europe—and probable violent conflict. Most of the latter however occurs in societies dominated by non-white peoples. For European-led OECD countries, racial violence has been comparatively rare during the past half century.

Yet SR has been integral to the human condition of all racial and ethnic groups. Diversity is its underlying basis. Thus the invective imputing "racism" to European-Americans is an egregious oxymoron that invidiously purports to distinguish them from blacks or Orientals in this regard. Clearly, ubiquitous SR variation in its affective or aversive manifestations is *normal* for reasons that will be subsequently elaborated.[13]

Related to the foregoing as well as the previously mentioned charge by Afro-American militants that all whites are racist "to the core" is the logical corollary that America is also afflicted with *institutional racism* (IR). What does this mean? That European-American SR permeates all societal institutional areas! If most whites harbor at least some pejorative attitudes toward blacks, we should expect this to be experienced by the latter in education, business, the armed forces, etc. Yet there is no evidence that minority upward mobility has been generally constrained by such IR.

The same may be said with respect to residential separation. This overall pattern commonly provokes "white flight" when blacks begin a serious neighborhood "invasion." It also applies to ethnic preferences in the case of Hispanics, Asians and European responses to similar Third World "invasions."

Indeed, blacks themselves manifest identical flight patterns out of neighborhoods being "taken over" by Mexicans in California and elsewhere! Preference to residentially associate with one's own kind while excluding others who differ socially and culturally is a common pattern—exceptions notwithstanding.

There is nothing remarkable in such institutional pervasiveness, nor in its variability—indeed the virtual absence of its manifestation for selected institutions such as sports or entertainment. They may be regarded as exceptions to the rule. In lesser measure, the same applies to certain churches, many colleges, and much of the public sector, where blacks are over-represented by 50 percent at the Federal level.

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dedicated to equality under the law, but also the first where a dominant ethno-racial group renounces equal protection of the laws for itself! Such an egregious, self-destructive, quasi-genocidal outcome is rendered more probable in the absence of what our "first black President" called for: a candid analysis of racial differences and tensions, where racist group preferences, pride, and resentment are only legitimate when articulated by people of color or their ostensible liberal benefactors.

In the sections that follow, we shall construct a typology of racist variants, the historical origins and functionality of this ubiquitous phenomenon, and assess the utopian ideological sources of the modern neo-Marxian racist jihad. Finally, the role of traditional Christian norms and human nature in conditioning an ethno-cultural defensive strategy by patriotic nationalists will be considered. More problematic—given white apathy, denial, and self-absorption—is whether this can be implemented effectively enough to halt the process of incremental European-American subordination and prospective civil war, or even partially self-inflicted genocide.

## Can Racism Be Operationalized?

A frequent claim of neo-conservatives is that the use of such invective by minority spokesmen like Jesse Jackson entails little more than rude or baseless name-calling. Or that liberals are simply endeavoring to expand their power base by playing their "race card." This is particularly the case when issues involving "disparate impact" or proportional representation appear to contradict their "color blind" societal pretensions.[7]

While as neo-conservatives argue, meritocratic policies (e.g. uniform admission, promotion, or contractual standards) are *not* racially motivated, liberal "affirmative action" racial preferences clearly constitute a variant of racism.[8] Ironically, Afro-American militants routinely seek to guilt-trip European-Americans by charging that *all* whites are "in their inner core," or essence, "racist." And this indictment encompasses the large white "progressive" left-liberal intelligentsia! Although overtly denying this in public (while often confirming it in their personal lifestyles), liberals frequently seek to overcompensate with even stronger non-white preferences and rhetoric. The Clinton / Gore administration epitomized such a reactive dynamic, as did Bush's cabinet appointments.

The fact that disparate impact policies (e.g. being "tough on crime") are not necessarily or commonly racially motivated implies nothing about the presence or content of their proponents' racial sentiments. Aversive attitudes may coexist independently yet may vary in intensity over time. Further, they can differ depending upon the cultural attributes or behavior of particular racial groups.[9]

Thus the most ubiquitous form of racism may be *sentimental* (SR) in nature. Affectively, it is a preference for and proud identity with one's own race. Conversely, SR often is aversive in varying degree toward another race. While a

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# Can American Racism Be Eliminated?

Miles D. Wolpin

In the course of an interview with the *Financial Times* last year, George W. Bush declared his firm commitment to bilingual education and high immigration mainly because he wanted to avoid being perceived as "an extremist."[1] Invectives such as "racist," "homophobic," "sexist," or "anti-Semite" are commonly employed by the liberal-left to exclude issues from the realm of respectable civic discourse. As the Bush comment illustrates, many neo-conservatives have become intimidated and prefer capitulation rather than accepting a barrage of hostile criticism.

The ubiquitous misuse of "harassment" codes and "civil rights" decrees to suppress speech, and therefore thought, commonly rationalized by the foregoing and related invective (e.g. homophobe, racist, sexist, etc.) reveal that modern liberals are sharply at odds with traditional liberal respect for liberty, diversity of perspective, and aversion to political correctness. John Stuart Mill would *surely* define the neo-totalitarian Orwellian liberalism as more consonant with Soviet-style orthodoxy than with our Western libertarian tradition.[2]

Indeed there are good reasons for believing that the Marxist-inspired New Left has—to use Gramsci's phrase—successfully completed an important phase of their "Long March." The irony of equating liberalism with openness and toleration is that the New Left has transformed and redefined the concept to represent a narrow symbolic hegemony over virtually all realms of civic discourse.[3]

This is confirmed by the acute fear that paralyzes most publicly active Conservatives. They systematically eschew issue positions (e.g. immigration reform, racial profiling) that evoke leftist charges of "racism." Similarly, there is a pattern of timid acquiescence in ignoring liberal double standards and hypocrisy on anti-white or anti-male operational policies involving race and gender.[4]

While courage—especially among politicians—is a rarely encountered virtue, the problem may be more complex than it appears. For most "conservatives" are in fact "soft" on globalism.[5] They have internalized some Left-originated Liberal doctrinal positions. These invariably attenuate "conservative" convictions. "Neo-conservatives" are supremely eclectic and occasionally share a tacit consensus—even internalized racial guilt—with their liberal protagonists![6]

How can patriotic European-Americans transcend this denouement and its Balkanizing prospects of what Gunner Myrdal once critiqued as "the American dilemma"? Perhaps America will not only have been "the first new nation"

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organizations, like the American Jewish Committee, promote immigration in order to advance Jewish interests and Jewish political power, *The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography* has broken a political taboo—not to publicly state that the pro-immigration Jewish lobby has an "ethnocentric" agenda. The valuable, if unintended, consequence of this is to permit a free and open debate on immigration reform that finally advances the national interest and not minority "identity politics."

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Throughout his presentation and during the "question and answer" period that followed, Dr. Steinlight made accusations without offering evidence to substantiate them. For instance, he claimed Pat Buchanan is an anti-Semite. When challenged by a member of the audience, Lawrence Auster, author of *The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism*, to cite even one quotation to substantiate that charge, Dr. Steinlight could not.

Soon Dr. Steinlight became confused about his own position. First, he asserted people who share Brimelow's and Buchanan's belief in a historic American nation that is white, European, and Christian are evil. Later, he maintained such people were only intellectually dishonest because they will not admit that they are engaged in "identity politics." Pointing out this significant change in terminology, Auster asked Dr. Steinlight which one is it — are those people evil or intellectually dishonest? Becoming flustered and belligerent, Dr. Steinlight refused to clarify his position, and instead took the next question, which was on Islam.

Repeating a central theme of his essay, Dr. Steinlight declared that America is a "propositional" country, not a historic nation. When challenged by another member of the audience, Dr. James Russell, author of *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, who maintained there is a historic white, European, Christian America, a visibly upset Dr. Steinlight retorted, "I don't know the 'America' you're talking about… You don't know what 'the founders' were thinking about."

At the beginning of the panel discussion, the moderator, Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, which had published his essay, asked Dr. Steinlight if Jews can engage in "identity politics" to advance Jewish interests, can't white, Christian Americans also engage in "identity politics" to advance their group interests?

For one whose essay called for asking "hard questions" and engaging in "straight talk," Dr. Steinlight would only mumble something about "not all identity politics are created equal." His Orwellian answer encapsulated a dangerous extremism that extends well beyond the subject of immigration.

Dr. Steinlight uses the need for immigration "reform" as a pretext for advocating what amounts to a censorship of the speech and writings of non-Jews, and their effective disenfranchisement from the political arena. The future America he envisions has more in common with "Oceania," the totalitarian nightmare of *1984*, than the Philadelphia Convention of 1787.

However, the lack of media coverage of the panel discussion, the critical comments from the audience, and the fact that the sponsor of the event, the Center for Immigration Studies, has not put an account of the proceedings on its webpage, suggests Dr. Steinlight has no supporters. His proposals, therefore, have no future.

But his essay does. As an insider's view of the motives and machinations of the pro-immigration Jewish lobby, it makes an important contribution to American history as well as to the debate over immigration. By acknowledging that Jewish

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But he laments the fact that this won't last.

> For perhaps, another generation, an optimistic forecast, the Jewish community is thus in a position where it will be able to divide and conquer and enter into selective coalitions that support our agendas.

The same ethnocentrism was on display during the panel discussion at the CUNY Graduate Center on November 14, 2001. Sadly, Dr. Steinlight's contention that Jewish organizations operate to maximize Jewish political power and advance Jewish agendas, and have actively supported immigration policies detrimental to the majority population because it promotes Jewish interests, was not denied by either Professor Kasinitz or Professor Siegel.

The professors did not repudiate Dr. Steinlight's implied premise that the white, European, Christian majority must be denied the right to determine immigration policy. Nor did Kasinitz or Siegel object to current immigration policy reducing that majority population to a demographic minority.

While both professors generally agreed with much of what Dr. Steinlight wrote, they frequently phrased their comments to address more than just "Jewish interests." For Professor Siegel the serious of failings of current immigration policy included the phenomenon of downward economic mobility, the divisiveness of multiculturalism, and the growth of Mexican separatism in the southwest. But he did not offer any clear proposals on what should be done. Professor Kasinitz, on the other hand, maintained there was no need to reduce annual numbers (nearly one million a year). The problems that existed, and he conceded there were serious problems, could be resolved by simply enforcing existing laws, rules, and regulations.

However, Professor Kasinitz did draw attention to one remarkable inconsistency in the essay. While Dr. Steinlight called for "promoting patriotic assimilation" among Third World immigrants, he lamented that "full-throttle assimilation into the American cultural landscape is vitiating whatever remains of our [Jewish] sense of identity." When asked by the professor to explain the contradiction, Dr. Steinlight ignored the question. This established the pattern for how Dr. Steinlight would respond to all critical questions throughout the conference.

Amazingly, Dr. Steinlight's opening remarks consisted of a series of personal attacks on Peter Brimelow, nationally known expert on immigration and author of *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster*, who articulately defends the right of the white, European, Christian majority to set immigration policy. Unable to rebut Brimelow's arguments, Dr. Steinlight engaged in name-calling describing the author of *Alien Nation* as objectionable and a racist promoting a "brutal ethnocentrism." While condemning his opponents as "xenophobes," the good doctor, without appreciation for the irony, disparaged then dismissed Brimelow as a "Brit," a foreigner. Brimelow, who was born in the United Kingdom, is actually a U.S. citizen.

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> [I]s the emerging new multicultural American nation good for the Jews?…will Jewish sensitivities continue to enjoy extraordinary high levels of deference and will Jewish interests continue to receive special protection?…how long do we actually believe that nearly 80 percent of the entire foreign aid budget of the United States will go to Israel?

For Dr. Steinlight, immigration is to be supported or opposed depending upon whether it is "good for the Jews." Therefore, if immigration is bad for the majority population but good for the Jews, it should be supported. And conversely, if immigration is good for the majority population but bad for the Jews, it should be opposed.

One result of current immigration policy has been to import massive numbers of Mexican and Muslim immigrants. With many, if not most, of both groups unassimilating and / or unassimilable — the former used by the Mexican government to promote its dream of a "reconquista" of the United States southwest, the latter used to advance the agendas of overseas Islamic fundamentalists — large scale immigration of Mexicans and Muslims raises legitimate questions about American national security, political stability, and social cohesion.

But Dr. Steinlight is only concerned with the adverse impact that such Mexican and Muslim immigration has on Jewish interests and Jewish political power. He laments, "once Jewish 'safe seats' in Congress are now held by Latino representatives" and that Latinos "have no historical experience of the Holocaust or knowledge of the persecution of Jews over the ages and see Jews only as the most privileged and powerful of white Americans." He fears "it is only a matter of time before the electoral power of Latinos, as well as that of others, overwhelms us."

Those "others" include Muslims. Dr. Steinlight writes that "…the rising Muslim population already represents a serious threat to the interests of the American Jewish community, and the danger will only increase with time." There is a threat to continued "American support for Israel" since "… at some point in the next 20 years Muslims will outnumber Jews…" and "Muslims with an 'Islamic agenda' are [already] growing active politically through a widespread network of national organizations." And there is a threat to Jewish status. Dr. Steinlight rhetorically asks "Will our status suffer when the Judeo-Christian cultural construct yields, first to a Judeo-Christian-Muslim one, and then to an even more expansive sense of national religious identity?"

Dr. Steinlight boasts:

> Unless and until the triumph of campaign finance reform is complete, an extremely unlikely scenario, the great material wealth of the Jewish community will continue to give it significant advantages. We will continue to court and be courted by key figures in Congress. That power is exerted within the political system from the local to national levels through soft money…

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Dr. Steinlight seeks not only to censor those views on immigration with which he disagrees but also to effectively disenfranchise the white, European, Christian majority from democratically determining immigration policy.

He continues:

> It was recently reported in the *Tennessean* that Buchanan's Reform Party has, unsurprisingly enough, made all-out anti-immigration a central plank of its platform, calling for a 10-year moratorium on all immigration. It must be admitted that this attitude clearly resonates with a majority of Americans. Every time representative samples of Americans are presented this option on opinion surveys of all sorts they support it, though usually it is couched in the context of a five-year moratorium.

Since Dr. Steinlight opposes a moratorium on immigration, his response reveals his idea of "our constitutional principles." He writes:

> We are not advocating surrender to the thoughtless mob, but we are advocating the design of policy closer to where the American people actually are with regard to the issue, *at the same time that we morally educate them to extend the parameters of their sense of community*. (Italics added)

To permit the democratic system to function is "surrender[ing] to the thoughtless mob." George Orwell would have been proud. For Dr. Steinlight, "democracy" exists when some groups are recognized as more equal than others and the minority can dictate to the majority. What about morally educating Dr. Steinlight to extend the parameters of his own sense of community?

As the essay makes clear, Dr. Steinlight is not interested in reforming immigration policy to reflect the national interest but only in fine-tuning the existing system for the exclusive benefit of the Jewish community:

> It is…in our own best interest to continue to support generous immigration. The day may come when…Jews will once again need a safe haven in the United States. The Jewish community requires this fail-safe…the question is whether it should be open-ended or not.

Dr. Steinlight's criticism of "open-ended" immigration is enlightening. He writes:

> We cannot consider the inevitable consequences of current trends — not the least among them *diminished Jewish political power* — with detachment. [Italics in the original] …the American Jewish community is arguably enjoying the high noon of its political power and influence, a high noon inevitably followed by a slow western decline. …Jewish legislative representation *may* have already peaked. [Italics in the original] It is unlikely we will ever see many more U.S. Senates with 10 Jewish members. And although had Al Gore been allowed by the Supreme Court to assume office, a Jew would have been one heartbeat away from the presidency, it may be we'll never get that close again.

And he rhetorically asks:

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From the first U.S. census in 1790 to the time of the 1965 immigration act, which created the current immigration system, the overwhelming majority of the population of the United States (89 percent in 1960) was racially white, "ethnically" European, and religiously, whether practicing or culturally, Christian.

Today, as a result of more than 30 years of massive Third World immigration, that percentage has been reduced to approximately 70 percent. But the United States remains demographically a white, European, Christian nation just as Israel is a racially white, "ethnically" European, and religiously Jewish nation.

The fact the United States was established as a white, European, Christian nation was enthusiastically celebrated by the Founding Fathers who passionately opposed altering, let alone abolishing, that reality.

For example, Thomas Paine, arguably the most radical of the American revolutionaries, wrote in *Common Sense*, "Europe…is the parent country of America," "we claim brotherhood with every European Christian," and "All Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are countrymen."

More famous are the words of John Jay who described the American nation in *The Federalist Papers* as "one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs."

Regarding the impact of unassimilable immigrants upon the American nation, Thomas Jefferson wrote, "they will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass."

Alexander Hamilton, Jefferson's political rival, agreed writing:

> The influx of foreigners must, therefore, tend to produce a heterogeneous compound; to change and corrupt the national spirit; to complicate and confound public opinion; to introduce foreign propensities.

Dr. Steinlight eloquently demands the right to be publicly heard:

> [S]top censoring ourselves for fear of offending the entirely imaginary arbiters of civic virtue, and bluntly and *publicly* [Italics in original] pose the same questions we anxiously ponder in private. The community should stop letting the thought police of the more extreme incarnations of multiculturalism squelch it… By liberating ourselves from these inhibitions we will unavoidably profane the altars of some of our own politically correct household gods… But we should ask the hard questions no matter what, recognizing that only straight talk will get us anywhere.

However, he denies that same right to those who disagree with him. As he later declares:

> The white "Christian" supremacists who have historically opposed either all immigration or all non-European immigration (Europeans being defined as Nordic or Anglo-Saxon), a position re-asserted by Peter Brimelow [author of *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster*] *must not be permitted to play a prominent role in the debate over the way America responds to unprecedented demographic change*. (Emphasis added)

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> If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to Eretz Yisrael, then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the life of these children, but also the history of the People of Israel.

In his essay, Dr. Steinlight cites the immigration laws of the 1920s to advance his political agenda. For the same reason, he ignores the 1965 immigration law, which established the current system that the good doctor claims he wants to "reform."

The central thesis of Dr. Steinlight is that the United States is a "propositional" country defined by "abstract principles" and not a historic nation that is white, European, and Christian. He omits reference to the 1965 immigration law because its congressional supporters repeatedly asserted their proposed law would preserve the continued existence of the United States as just that — a historic white, European, and Christian nation.

Congressional and administration supporters of the 1965 immigration act publicly assured the citizens of the United States that the proposed law would: (1) not increase the annual level of immigration, (2) not lower the standards for admission, (3) not redirect immigration away from Europe, and (4) not alter the ethnic / racial composition of the United States.

For example, Senator Robert Kennedy (D-NY) stated, "The new immigration act would not have any significant effect on the ethnic composition of the U.S."

Senator Hiram Fong (D-HI) affirmed that

> [T]he people who have built up America, Anglo-Saxons, and the northern peoples of Europe, are not discriminated against in this bill…the people from that part of the world [Asia-Pacific Triangle] probably will never reach 1 percent of the [U.S.] population… Our cultural pattern will never be changed as far as America is concerned… there is that fundamental adherence to European culture.

Representative Patsy T. Mink (D-HI) intoned "this bill is but a step in the right direction. It is estimated that in the total 5-year period 679,663 of the 828,805 persons entering the United States will come from Europe.''

Representative Emanuel Celler (D-NY), dean of the House, insisted "the effect of the bill would be 'quite insignificant' on U.S. population" and "that the bill would not let in 'great numbers of immigrants from anywhere,' including Africa and Asia."

Ignoring this inconvenient history of the 1965 immigration law Dr. Steinlight declares,

> We need to rescue it [immigration reform] from the influence of those who understand America not in terms of its abstract constitutional principles, not as embodied in the Bill of Rights, but rather in some Buchananite version of *blut un* [SIC] *boden*. (Italics in original)

It is apparent, however, that it is Dr. Steinlight who does not understand America. This statement reveals the phenomenal extent of his unfamiliarity with American history and the writings of the Founding Fathers.

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Zinoviev (Radomyslsky), head of the Communist International—the Comintern; Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), press commissar; Maxim Litvinov (Wallach), foreign affairs commissar; Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld); and Moisei Uritsky. Even Lenin was arguably a Jew by the laws of Israel.

In reality, the immigration laws adopted by the United States in the 1920s, which Dr. Steinlight labels as "evil" and "xenophobic," were adopted according to democratic procedure, conformed to the U.S. Constitution, and reflected the legitimate wishes of the majority population to preserve the historic ethnic composition of the United States.

While he condemns these laws when applied by white, Christian Americans to preserve the historic identity of the United States as a white, European, Christian nation, Dr. Steinlight implicitly approves of such laws when applied by Jews to preserve Israel as both a Jewish state and a Jewish nation.

Dr. Steinlight concludes his misrepresentation of the immigration laws of the 1920s by declaring "…America's abandonment of the Jews to Nazi annihilation is arguably the greatest moral failure in its history." The good doctor conveniently omits the fact that from its initial policy of lend lease to its final military intervention it was the United States that was responsible for defeating the Nazis and freeing the Jews at the cost of over one million Americans, overwhelmingly white Christians, dead and wounded.

If he is truly interested in the "abandonment of the Jews to Nazi annihilation," then Dr. Steinlight should read *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* by Jewish historian Lenni Brenner. The Zionists in Palestine did not want Europe's Jews and opposed unrestricted Jewish immigration. According to Brenner, "Only young, healthy, qualified and committed Zionists were wanted."

In 1934, Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, president of the World Zionist Organization from 1920-1929 and again from 1935-1946 and the first president of Israel, had restrictions placed on which German Jews would be allowed to immigrate to Palestine. Those to be denied entrance included "former businessmen, commercial travellers, artists, and musicians" and those who were "...over 30, and possess no capital and no specific qualifications."

According to Israeli scholar Abraham Margaliot, the next year Weizmann told the Zionist Executive:

> [T]he Zionist movement would have to choose between the immediate rescue of Jews and the establishment of a national project which would ensure lasting redemption for the Jewish people. Under such circumstances, the movement, according to Weizmann, must choose the latter course.
>
> In 1938, after Kristallnacht, the British government proposed admitting thousands of Jewish children from Germany into the United Kingdom. David Ben-Gurion, member of the Zionist Executive since 1920, Secretary General of Histadruth (General Federation of Jewish Labor) in 1921, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine in 1935, and the first prime minister of Israel, opposed the British plan. He told a meeting of Labor Zionist leaders:

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> whom sudden gusts of hatred might be anticipated, people less sensitive, intelligent, and moral than ourselves... my nationalist training was to inculcate the belief that the primary division in the world was between "us" and "them."

Sadly, as demonstrated by this essay, Dr. Steinlight never outgrew this childhood indoctrination in intolerance. Misrepresenting the immigration legislation of the 1920s, he writes of the "evil, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and Red Menace-based Great Pause in the 1920s that trapped hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe."

There was no Red Menace? He should read the *Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*.

"[H]undreds of thousands of Jews" were "trapped" in Europe? The immigration laws only applied to southern and eastern Europe. It affected Poland for instance, but not Germany or Austria. Approximately 250,000-300,000 Jews emigrated from Germany between 1919 and 1939. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* estimated that 55,000 went to British mandated Palestine, 63,000 went to the United States, 40,000 to the United Kingdom, 30,000 to France, 25,000 to Belgium, 25,000 to Argentina, 16,000 to the International Settlement in Shanghai, and 5,000 to South Africa.

"Trapped" implies danger. Where was that danger in the 1920s? In Germany, the Nazi Party was comparatively small and powerless, and Hitler was in jail for his failed "beer hall putsch." In fact, the years 1924-1929 were known as the "Golden Twenties" in Germany. The currency had been stabilized and the country was not only experiencing significant industrial and financial growth but had become a leading cultural center for the rest of Europe —i.e., Max Reinhardt and Bertolt Brecht in the theater, Hans Poelzig and Walter Gropius in architecture, Osker Kokoschka and Wassiliy Kandinsky in the arts, Albert Einstein and Max Planck in the sciences.

In Poland, the government "encouraged" Jews to emigrate. Unlike German Jews, Polish Jews were not able to enter the United States. So thousands immigrated to the British mandate of Palestine. By the mid-1930s, Polish Jews represented over 40 perent of all Jewish immigrants. Similarly, many Jews in the Balkans denied admittance to the United States did not remain "trapped" in Europe but also immigrated to Palestine.

In Russia, where arguably most of European Jewry resided, the tsar and his wife and children had been murdered and anti-Semitism, but not anti-Christianism, was made a capital offense in the newly established Soviet Union. By the mid-1920s, Jews in the Soviet Union were physically secure and experiencing a national renaissance in the arts, literature, and politics. Jews held significant power in the party and the government. For example, among the leading Communists were Leon Trotsky (Bronstein), head of the Red Army and briefly chief of Soviet foreign affairs; Yakov Sverdlov (Solomon), executive secretary of the Bolshevik Party and, as chairman of the Central Executive Committee, the official head of the Soviet government; Grigory

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# WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING?

## Dr. Stephen Steinlight's "Conversion" to the Cause Of Immigration Control

JOSEPH E. FALLON

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*The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography: Reconsidering a Misguided Immigration Policy by Dr. Stephen Steinlight* (Backgrounder, October 2001) is arguably one of the most important essays published to date by the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies.

Following release of its publication, CIS hosted a panel discussion at the CUNY Graduate Center on November 14. Here the author "debated" the premise and proposals of his essay with Philip Kasinitz, professor of sociology at Hunter College and the CUNY Graduate Center, and Fred Siegel, professor of history at The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art.

Both the essay and the panel discussion make an important contribution to the ongoing debate on immigration reform but not for the reasons that the author or CIS may have wished.

As director of national affairs at the American Jewish Committee for more than five years, Dr. Steinlight had worked with the National Immigration Forum (an umbrella organization to which the AJC and other Jewish groups belong) to promote Third World immigration into the United States.

In this essay, Dr. Steinlight writes that he has had a "change of heart, of thought" on the subject of immigration. While his "conversion" took years and "came gradually, even reluctantly," he now publicly disassociates himself from his previous position and former colleagues, and claims to support the cause of immigration reform.

*The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography*, however, is neither a learned, nor an eloquent discourse on the need for immigration reform.

Instead, the essay, which advocates fine tuning, not reforming, current immigration policy, is a diatribe characterized by intellectual dishonesty, logical inconsistency, and moral posturing. But it is Dr. Steinlight's religious animosity towards non-Jews that defines this paper.

He writes:

> Like thousands of other typical Jewish kids of my generation, I was reared as a Jewish nationalist, even a quasi-separatist… More tacitly and subconsciously, I was taught the superiority of my people to the gentiles who had oppressed us. We were taught to view non-Jews as untrustworthy outsiders, people from

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achievement. Similarly, the fact that throughout the world Blacks have a stronger sex drive than Whites or East Asians explains why Black Americans, Black Caribbeans, and sub-Saharan Africans have the highest rates of sexually transmitted diseases, and why East Asians have even lower rates than Whites.

A second implication is that "White racism" is not responsible for all of society's problems. Black underachievement is not simply due to "White prejudice." It is more deeply rooted. On average, Black children are born with smaller brains than White or East Asian children. Pointing this out is not constructing stereotypes, it is simply observing facts as they are. Both science and justice call for us to seek and tell the truth, not to tell lies and spread error.

Another implication is that we have to accept that racial differences will not just disappear. Hitherto, most theories in the behavioral sciences have assumed that all human populations have equal abilities to achieve equal levels of social development. We need to accept the existence of the evolved diversity of human populations.

Sometimes it is claimed by those who argue that race is just a social construct that the human genome project shows that because people share 99% of their "genes" in common, that there are no races. This is silly. Human genes are 98% similar to chimpanzee genes. Yet no one thinks that chimpanzees have the same intelligence, brain size, or social behavior patterns as human beings; they look and behave very differently. In fact humans share 90% of their genes with mice, which is why we can use them to test drug therapies. Similarly, although men and women are genetically 99% the same, it is foolish to believe that sex is just a "social construction."

Much confusion arises because there are several sets of genetic measures. A much more realistic story comes from looking at the 3.1 billion base pairs that make up the 30,000 genes. People differ in 1 out of every 1,000 of these base pairs. Each change in a base pair can alter a gene. Technically, base pair differences are called single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs). Base pair differences are important and SNPs clump together in races. Just one change in the base pair for hemoglobin, for example, causes sickle-cell anemia, from which many Blacks suffer. Other base pair differences affect IQ, aggression, and mental illness. The 3.1 billion base pairs provide plenty of room for large racial differences.

In summary, the same racial pattern would not occur so consistently all around the world and over time if race were a mere social construct. If it were a meaningless construct, it would have no power to predict phenomena like brain size, growth rate, life span, crime, and family stability. Other evidence also shows that race is a biological reality. For example, coroners in crime labs can identify race from a skeleton or even just the skull. They can even identify race from blood, hair, or semen. How could they do this if race was only a social construct? The scientific evidence shows that the politically correct mantra "race is just skin deep" is a case of deep denial.

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## The Evolution of Racial Differences

Look back again at all the traits in Chart 1. They form a pattern. Whites consistently average *between* Orientals and Blacks in dozens of areas. Also, the groups with the *largest* brains have the *lowest* rates of two-egg twinning! Why? The answer lies in evolution. *No purely cultural theory can explain all of these traits taken together*. There is, however, a gene-based explanation that explicitly involves the trade-off between reproductive effort (twinning rates) and brain size. The patterns make up what is called a "life-history." They evolved together to meet the trials of life—survival, growth, and reproduction.

I have explained the racial pattern in brain size, intelligence, and other traits using a gene-based life-history theory that evolutionary biologists call the *r-K* scale of reproductive strategies. At one end of this scale are *r*-strategies that rely on high reproductive rates. At the other end are *K*-strategies that rely on high levels of parental care. This scale is generally used to compare the life histories of different species of animals. I have used it to explain the smaller but real differences between the human races.

On this scale, Orientals are more *K*-selected than Whites, while Whites are more *K*-selected than Blacks. Highly *K*-selected women produce fewer eggs (and have bigger brains) than *r*-selected women. Highly *K*-selected men invest time and energy in their children rather than the pursuit of sexual thrills. They are "dads" rather than "cads."

Race differences also make sense in terms of human evolution. Modern humans evolved in Africa about 200,000 years ago. Africans and non-Africans then split about 110,000 years ago. Orientals and Whites split about 40,000 years ago, around the time that modern humans were first in Europe. Analyses of DNA sequencing, along with the fossil and archaeological record, demonstrate this sequence, as does the pattern of traits shown in Chart 1.

The further north people went out of Africa, the harder it was to get food, gain shelter, make clothes, and raise children. So the groups that evolved into today's Whites and Orientals needed larger brains, more family stability, and a longer life. But building a bigger brain takes time and energy so there is a trade off with slower rates of growth, lower levels of sex hormones, less aggression, and less sexual activity. Thus came about the pattern of traits in Chart 1.

What are the implications of this research? One is, obviously, that race is a valid taxonomic construct. If it were not it would have no reliable predictive value and we would not find the same racial pattern all around the world and over time. The fact that, on average, African-descended children are born with smaller brains than European- or East Asian-descended children, regardless of where in the diasporas the children are located, allows reliable predictions to be made about their future academic and occupational

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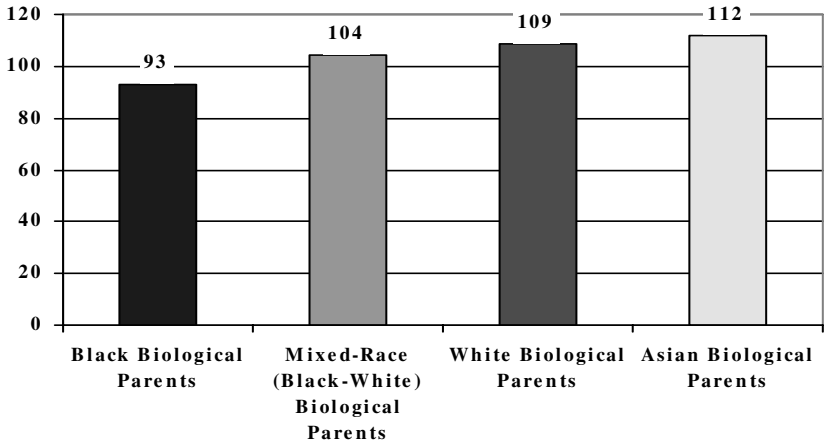
The HIV infection rate is also high in the Black Caribbean – 2.2%! The high rate of HIV / AIDS in the 2,000-mile band of Caribbean countries extends from Bermuda to Guyana, and it is highest in the Bahamas and in Haiti, where the rates are 4% and 5%, respectively.

Data published by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention show that African Americans have HIV / AIDS rates similar to the Black Caribbean and parts of Black Africa. Three percent of Black men and 1% of Black women in the U.S. are living with HIV. The rate for White Americans is about 0.4%, while the rate for Asian Americans is less than 0.05%. Rates for Europe and the Pacific Rim are also low. Of course AIDS is a serious public health problem for all racial groups, but it is especially so for Africans and people of African descent.

Importantly, the races also differ in rate of ovulation. Not all women produce just one egg during the menstrual cycle. When two or more eggs are produced at the same time, pregnancy and the likelihood of producing two-egg twins are more likely. The number of such twins born is 16 out of every 1,000 births for Blacks, 8 out of every 1,000 births for Whites, and 4 or less for Orientals. Black women also average shorter menstrual cycles than White women. These and other data make it plain that the race differences in reproductive behavior are biological in nature.

Twin and adoption studies show that genes play a big part in athletic ability, brain size, IQ, and personality. Trans-racial adoption studies, where infants of one race are adopted and reared by parents of a different race, provide some of the strongest evidence that race differences are heritable. Oriental children, even if malnourished before being adopted by White parents, go on to have IQs above the White average. Black infants adopted into middle-class White families end up with IQs lower than the White average. Some of these data are summarized in Chart 7.

**Chart 7: IQ Scores for Adopted Children of Various Races After Being Reared in White Middle-Class Homes (Average of Scores at Ages 7 and 17)**




**Source:** Third Unabridged Edition of ***Race, Evolution, and Behavior*** (pp. 187-194).

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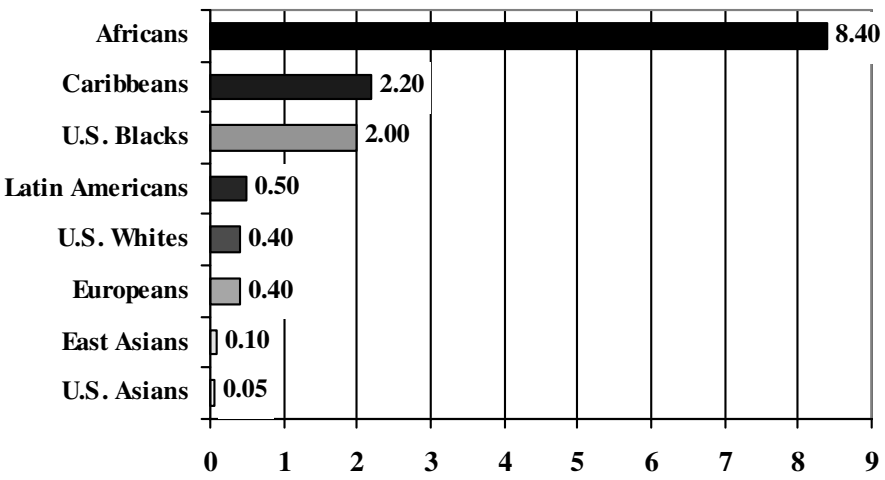
in Britain and the U.S., and international surveys by the World Health Organization, reveal the three-way racial pattern in sexual behavior. These racial differences, in turn, affect the rate of sexually transmitted diseases. For example, the latest figures from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (for the year 2000) shows the rate of chlamydia in African Americans is 10 times higher than it is for Whites, and for gonorrhea and syphilis the rate among Blacks is nearly 30 times the White rate.

Sadly, racial differences are also reflected in the current AIDS crisis. Over 40 million people around the world are living with HIV / AIDS. Chart 6 shows the HIV infection rates in various parts of the world based on the latest figures from UNAIDS (December 2001). The epidemic started in Black Africa in the late 1970s. Today 28 million adults there are living with HIV / AIDS. Over fifty percent of these are female. This shows that transmission is mainly heterosexual. Currently, nearly 9 out of every 100 Africans are infected with the AIDS virus and the epidemic is considered out of control. In several countries the AIDS rate is over 20%, including South Africa, where one in 5 adults is living with HIV / AIDS.

**Chart 6: HIV/AIDS Rates (%) for 15- to 49-year-olds in 2001**




**Source:** Updated from Second Abridged Edition of **Race, Evolution, and Behavior** (p. 44) (UNAIDS/Centers for Disease Control and Prevention).

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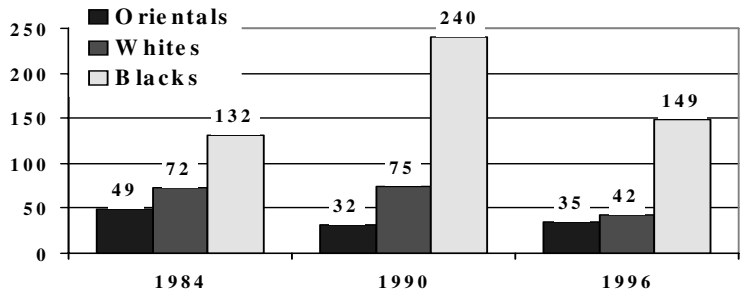
The extremely low average IQ of 70 for sub-Saharan Africans has been difficult for many people to accept. To determine for myself how realistic a figure it was, I traveled to South Africa to initiate a series of studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, one of the most prestigious universities in Africa. In the first study, we administered the Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices to 173 African first year psychology students who scored at the 14th percentile on 1993 U.S. norms, giving them an average IQ of 84. In a second study, we administered the same test to another group of psychology students who scored an IQ of 83. After training on how to solve these types of tests, their IQs rose to 96. In a third study, we gave the same test to a more academically select student population — 198 African engineering students who had taken mathematics and sciences courses in high school. This group scored at the 41st percentile with an IQ of 97. These results, from an elite university, showing mean IQ scores for African undergraduates ranging from 83 to 97, confirm the overall IQ of 70 for Africans because around the world university students typically score 15 to 30 IQ points above their population average.

Race differences in brain size and IQ, along with those in testosterone, have important implications for social behavior. For example, in the United States, Orientals are seen as a "model minority." They have fewer divorces, out-of-wedlock births, and cases of child abuse than do Whites. More Orientals graduate from college and fewer go to prison. Blacks, on the other hand, are 12% of the American population but make up 50% of the prison population.

The racial pattern of crime in the U.S. is not due to local conditions like "White racism." For nearly twenty years I have been monitoring the *Interpol Yearbooks* and publishing data on the worldwide crime statistics. These consistently show that the rate of violent crime (murder, rape, and serious assault) is about three times lower in East Asian and Pacific Rim countries than they are in African and Caribbean countries. Whites in European countries are intermediate. The 1996 rates of violent crime, for example, were: East Asian countries, 35 per 100,000 people; European countries, 42; and African and Caribbean countries, 149 (see Chart 5).

**Chart 5: INTERPOL Crime Rates for the Three Races (Murder, Rape, and Serious Assault) per 100,000 population**




**Source:** Third Unabridged Edition of ***Race, Evolution, and Behavior*** (pp. P-24, 159, 287).

Orientals are the least sexually active, whether measured by age of first

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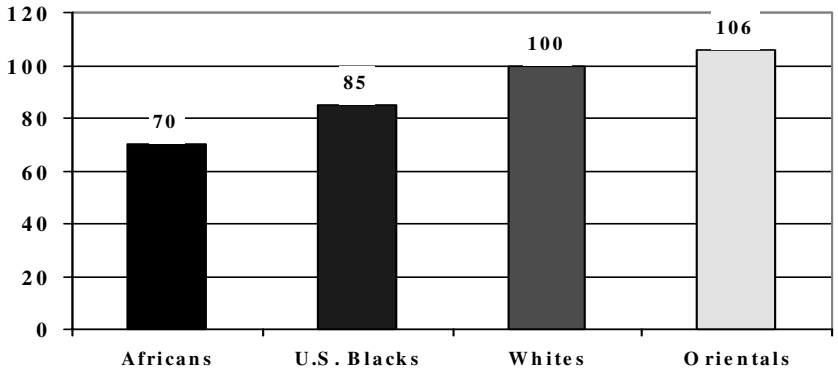
I published several other studies during the 1990s, also in *Intelligence*, confirming the racial differences in brain size. In one study, I (1991) analyzed data from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and found the mean cranial capacity for East Asians was 1,460 $cm^3$, and for Europeans it was 1,446 $cm^3$. From a stratified random sample of 6,325 U.S. Army personnel, I (1992) calculated average cranial capacities for Asians, Whites, and Blacks, respectively, of 1,416 $cm^3$, 1,380 $cm^3$, and 1,359 $cm^3$. (I also found that officers averaged 1,393 $cm^3$ while enlisted personnel averaged 1,375 $cm^3$.) From a compilation made by the International Labour Office in Geneva of tens of thousands of people from around the world, I (1994) found that samples from the Pacific Rim, Europe, and Africa averaged cranial capacities, respectively, of 1,308 $cm^3$, 1,297 $cm^3$, and 1,241 $cm^3$. Travis Osborne and I (1995) published a paper showing that brain size was about 50% heritable for both Blacks and Whites using data from the Georgia Twin Study based on 236 pairs of Black and White adolescent twins. And once again we found Whites averaged greater cranial capacity than Blacks.

Since one cubic inch of brain matter contains millions of brain cells and hundreds of millions of nerve connections, brain size helps to explain why the races differ in IQ. On standardized IQ tests, hundreds of studies show the three-way pattern. Orientals average slightly ahead of Whites on such tests and Whites average substantially ahead of Blacks. Most IQ tests have an average score of 100, with a "normal" range from 85 to 115. Around the world, Whites average an IQ of about 100, Orientals an IQ of about 104, and Blacks in Britain, the Caribbean, and the U.S. average lower IQs—about 85. The lowest average IQs are found for sub-Saharan Africans—around 70 (see Chart 4). Like the other data sets in this essay, these are reviewed in my book *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*. An even more recent book on the topic is by Richard Lynn and Tatu Vanhanen, *IQ and the Wealth of Nations.*

**Chart 4: Average IQ Scores for the Various Races**




**Source:** Third Unabridged Edition of ***Race, Evolution, and Behavior*** (pp. P-15-P16, 135-137, 278-280).

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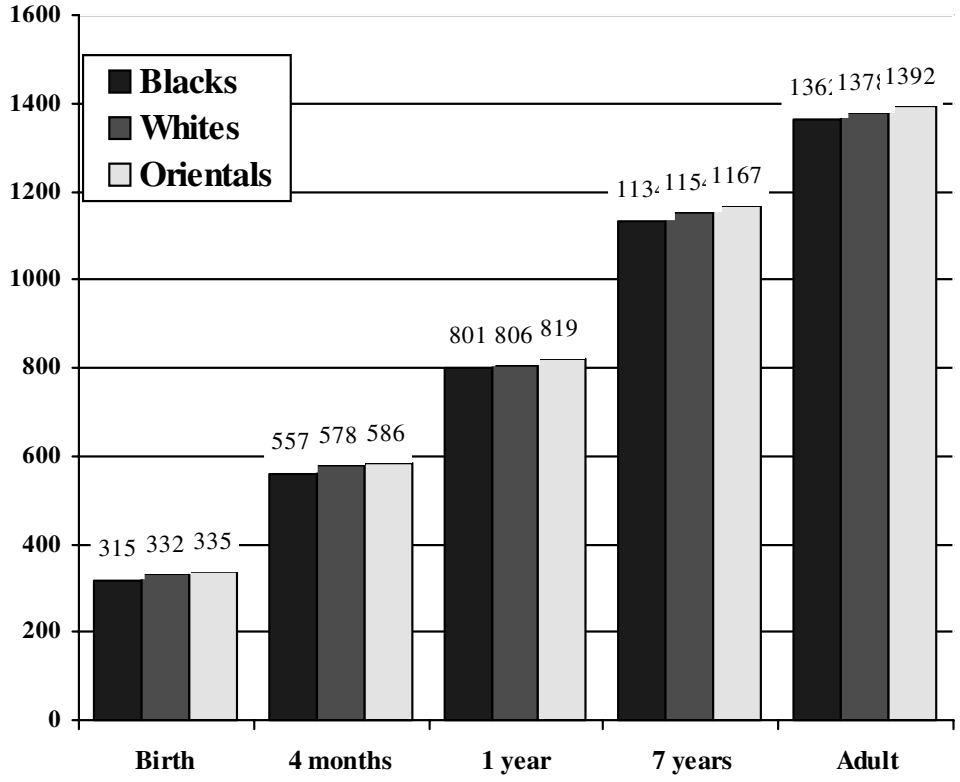
from the enormous Collaborative Perinatal Project, which took head circumference measures and IQ scores from over 50,000 children followed from birth to seven years. The Oriental children averaged larger head circumferences than did the White children at birth, four months, one year, and seven years; the White children averaged larger head circumferences than did the Black children (see Chart 3).

**Chart 3: Average Cranial Size ($cm^3$) for Blacks, Whites, and Orientals in the U.S. at Five Different Ages**




**Source:** J. P. Rushton, 1997, ***Intelligence***, 25, p. 15.

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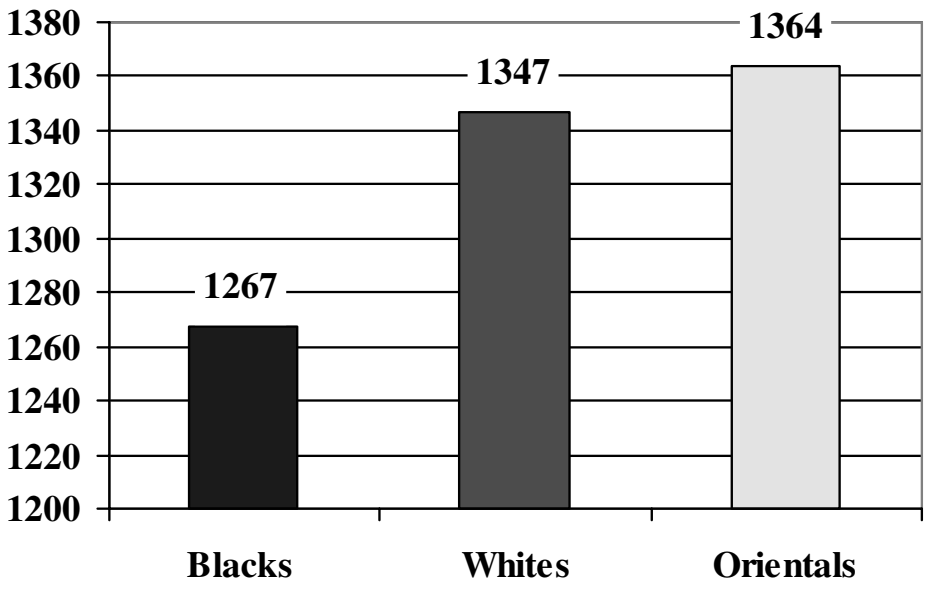
Race differences in brain size have been demonstrated using four different methods: (1) magnetic resonance imaging, (2) brain weight at autopsy, (3) endocranial volume, and (4) external head measurements. These data are summarized in Chart 2 which presents the brain size averages across the four measurement techniques and also, where possible, corrected for body size. Orientals averaged 1,364 $cm^3$, Whites averaged 1,347 $cm^3$, and Blacks averaged 1,267 $cm^3$. Naturally the averages vary between samples and the races do overlap. But the results from different methods on different samples, measured from the 1840s to the 1990s, show the same strong pattern.

**Chart 2: Average Brain Size ($cm^3$) for the Three Races**




**Source:** Third Unabridged Edition of
***Race, Evolution, and Behavior*** (pp. P-13, 113-133, 282-284)

The racial differences in brain size show up at birth. One study of my own, published in the 1997 issue of the journal *Intelligence*, was carried out using the resources of the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke (NINCDS) in Bethesda, Maryland. In it, I analyzed data

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Of course, these three-way racial differences are averages. Individuals are individuals. However, I've found that this three-way pattern is consistently true over time and across nations. That the same three-way racial pattern occurs repeatedly on some 60 different biological and behavioral variables is profoundly interesting and shows that race is more than "just skin deep." The international data come from the World Health Organization, the United Nations, and Interpol. Recently, I even traveled to South Africa to collect new IQ data.

Let's start with the biological differences in sports, which is something almost everyone observes. Jon Entine's recent book *Taboo: Why Black Athletes Dominate Sports and Why We Are Afraid to Talk About It*, addresses the old cliché that "White men can't jump" (and the new one that Oriental men jump even less well). Entine shows that in sports, it is Black men and women who can sky! And yet, as the data also show, it is mainly Blacks of West African descent who excel at running over short distances, while Blacks of East African descent—from Kenya and Ethiopia—excel at marathon running over long distances. These differences between East and West Africans show that taking an average can sometimes gloss over important distinctions. Still, Blacks from both East and West Africa excel at one or another kind of running. In sports, Blacks, as a group, have a genetic advantage.

It is interesting to know that race differences show up early in life. Black babies are born a week earlier than White babies, yet they mature faster as measured by bone development. By age five or six, Black children excel in the dash, the long jump, and the high jump, all of which require a short burst of power. By the teenage years, Blacks have faster reflexes, as in the famous knee-jerk response.

Blacks also have from 3 to 19% more of the sex hormone testosterone than Whites or Orientals. This means more explosive energy, which gives Blacks the edge in sports like boxing, basketball, football, and sprinting.

Why is it taboo to say that Blacks are on average better at sports? Because the hormones that give Blacks the edge in sports also make them more masculine in general. They are physically more active in school, and this can sometimes get them into trouble or even lead to their being diagnosed as hyperactive.

So the next question is, "Why do East Asians and Whites have wider hips than Blacks, and so make poorer runners?" The answer is that they give birth to larger-brained babies. During evolution, as the head size of newborns increased, women had to have a wider pelvis. Orientals average 1 cubic inch more cranial capacity than Whites, and Whites average a very large 5 cubic inches more cranial capacity than Blacks.

Some people are surprised to hear that the races differ in brain size. And they wonder how convincing the evidence is that brain size is related to intelligence. In fact, dozens of studies, including those based on state-of-the-art magnetic resonance imaging, have demonstrated the relation between brain size and intelligence.

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| Variable | Orientals | Whites | Blacks |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Brain Size** | | | |
| Autopsy data (cm3 Equivalents) | 1,351 | 1,356 | 1,223 |
| Endocranial volume (cm3) | 1,415 | 1,362 | 1,268 |
| External head measures (cm3) | 1,356 | 1,329 | 1,294 |
| Cortical neurons (billions) | 13.767 | 13.665 | 13.185 |
| **Intelligence** | | | |
| IQ test scores | 106 | 100 | 85 |
| Decision times | Faster | Intermediate | Slower |
| Cultural Achievements | Higher | Higher | Lower |
| **Maturation Rate** | | | |
| Gestation time | ? | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Skeletal development | Later | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Motor development | Later | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Dental development | Later | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Age of first intercourse | Later | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Age of first pregnancy | Later | Intermediate | Earlier |
| Life span | Longer | Intermediate | Shorter |
| **Personality** | | | |
| Activity level | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Aggressiveness | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Cautiousness | Higher | Intermediate | Lower |
| Dominance | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Impulsivity | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Self-concept | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Sociability | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| **Social Organization** | | | |
| Marital stability | Higher | Intermediate | Lower |
| Law abidingness | Higher | Intermediate | Lower |
| Mental health | Higher | Intermediate | Lower |
| Administrative capacity | Higher | Higher | Lower |
| **Reproductive Effort** | | | |
| Two-egg twinning (per 1,000 births) | 4 | 8 | 16 |
| Hormone levels | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Size of genitalia | Smaller | Intermediate | Larger |
| Secondary sex characteristics | Smaller | Intermediate | Larger |
| Intercourse frequencies | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Permissive attitudes | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |
| Sexually transmitted diseases | Lower | Intermediate | Higher |

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# Is Race A Valid Taxonomic Construct?

**J. Philippe Rushton**

*This essay is Professor Rushton's latest "Statement on Race." It updates the research in his book* Race, Evolution, and Behavior *(3rd edition, 2000), which contains over 1,000 references to the literature.*

Over the years egalitarians have questioned the taxonomic classification of race in terms of its empirical value and utility. Notwithstanding these criticisms, which seek to undermine the legitimacy of race as a scientific concept, the answer to the question posed in the title of this paper is "yes." If the concept of race didn't exist, science would have to invent it (and did)! Race is a valid taxonomic construct because it allows us to make predictions about people's behavior, especially at the group level.

In science, a concept is useful if it groups facts so that general laws and conclusions can be drawn from them. Predictions can be made using the taxonomic category of race because, on average, the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans are similar to each other and different from White Americans, Germans, and Russians, who are similar to each other and different from Black Americans, Haitians, and sub-Saharan Africans. Predictability is the criterion by which the value of a hypothetical construct like race is evaluated. As I will show, race is highly predictive.

For the past 20 years my research has focused on differences between the three major races, commonly termed ***Orientals*** (East Asians, Mongoloids), ***Whites*** (Europeans, Caucasoids), and ***Blacks*** (Africans, Negroids). Roughly speaking, Orientals are those who have most of their ancestors from East Asia. Whites have most of their ancestors from Europe. And Blacks have most of their ancestors from sub-Saharan Africa. In the main, I have not addressed the many other groups outside of these three major races, or sub-groups within the three major races, though they are of interest as well.

What I've found is that in brain size, intelligence, temperament, sexual behavior, fertility, growth rate, life span, crime, and family stability, Orientals, as a group, consistently fall at one end of the spectrum, Blacks fall at the other end, and Whites fall in between. On average, Orientals are slower to mature, less fertile, and less sexually active, and have larger brains and higher IQ scores. Blacks are at the opposite end in each of these areas. Whites fall in the middle, often close to Orientals (see Chart 1).

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In the more distant future, we should anticipate that new genes will be constructed for greater intelligence, and possibly for certain personality traits such as creativity and greater persistence, and for enhanced longevity. Eventually these will produce a new species of humans capable of solving problems beyond our present capacities. Among these will be the colonization of other planets in anticipation of the time when the earth is no longer habitable and is pulled into the sun.

All these developments should be regarded as inevitable because once technologies become available that fulfill human needs, they are invariably used. The twenty-first century will be recognized as the time when humans took control of their genetic destiny, and this will be regarded as one of the greatest advances in history. It will be seen as the period in which the vision of the eugenicists of producing a genetically improved race of humans came to be realized, not by the selective reproduction methods of classical eugenics but by medical technology.

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*Richard Lynn is professor emeritus of psychology at the University of Ulster. This article is based on his book* ***Eugenics: A Reassessment*** *(Praeger, 2001). His most recent book, co-authored with Tatu Vanhanen, is* ***IQ and the Wealth of Nations*** *(Praeger 2002).*

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the United States and throughout the economically developed world have been given these prenatal tests and been offered pregnancy terminations when genetic abnormalities have been identified.

The great majority of women have opted to have genetically impaired fetuses terminated and this has had a considerable impact in reducing the birth incidence of a number of genetic disorders. There have been huge reductions in the birth incidence of anencephaly (the absence of a brain), spina bifida (in which the vertebrae fail to develop properly), and Tay-Sachs disease (formerly known as amaurotic familial idiocy), and significant reductions in the birth incidence of cystic fibrosis, which is the commonest single-gene genetic disorder in European populations. The impact of prenatal diagnosis is likely to increase, as methods for diagnosing genetically impaired fetuses are improved. These procedures have had a eugenic impact in so far as they have reduced the genes for genetic disorders in the population.

The other medical technologies that are beginning to have a eugenic impact are *in vitro* fertilization and gene therapy. The eugenic application of *in vitro* fertilization consists of growing a number of embryos, carrying out genetic tests on them, discarding those that carry genes for genetic disorders and implanting those that are disease free. The eugenic application of gene therapy consists of implanting new healthy genes to take over the functions of those that are defective.

These techniques are still in their infancy but are likely to be developed in the future. *In vitro* fertilization is likely to be used to grow a number of embryos, test them for their genetic characteristics including not only possible genetic disorders but also intelligence, personality qualities, sporting abilities, and appearance, and implant those that the mothers consider most desirable. As these technologies become available, it can be anticipated that initially, they will only be used by a small number of affluent couples that can afford them. This will lead to more class-divided societies in which affluent couples who use embryo selection will have children with much higher IQs and sounder personality qualities than the rest of the population. Because IQ and sound personality qualities of a strong work ethic, motivation, self discipline, and the like are important determinants of educational and occupational achievement, the children of the affluent who are conceived by embryo selection will do much better than others in school and will fill almost all the places in the more prestigious universities and secure most of the top jobs.

In time, we should anticipate that embryo selection and possibly also gene implantation will come to be used by increasing numbers of couples to produce genetically superior children. However, we cannot envisage a time when it will be used by the entire population. There will always remain some who continue to have children by what will increasingly be regarded as the old fashioned way. These will become a genetic underclass of unskilled workers and unemployables. This will heighten class inequalities and tensions.

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grounds. Otherwise sensible geneticists asserted that all genes are equally valuable, that disease is just as good as health, or possibly better because Beethoven might not have composed his late works if he had not suffered from a hereditary form of deafness; it was asserted that intelligence and moral character have no genetic basis but are wholly environmentally determined; that Hitler believed in eugenics and this proves that eugenics leads ultimately to the gas chambers. It was even asserted that the eugenicists did not understand genetics and if they had done so they would have realized that eugenic programs would not work because eugenics is a pseudo-science, like astrology. When it is considered that the majority of the most eminent geneticists of the first two thirds of the twentieth century endorsed eugenics, the assertion that the eugenicists did not understand genetics was ridiculous. In fact, all of these assertions were nonsense. Nevertheless, they were confidently advanced and books containing them were favorably reviewed in the literary pages of journals, newspapers, and magazines. No one dared contradict them for fear of being accused of supporting eugenics.

By the end of the twentieth century eugenics had become universally rejected and at the beginning of the twenty-first century a position has been reached that is unique in the history of science. From time to time scientists have advanced theories that are deeply unpalatable to contemporary beliefs. Galileo's heliocentric theory of the rotation of the planets and Darwin's theory of evolution are the leading examples. These theories were bitterly opposed by the church and by many others, but they were quite quickly accepted by experts and soon became part of the accepted body of knowledge. This is not what has happened with eugenics. The eugenicists established a body of knowledge that is indisputably correct. The core propositions of this body of knowledge are that throughout most of the world populations are deteriorating genetically in regard to their health, intelligence, and moral character, and that this is a serious problem that needs to be recognized and ways found of overcoming it. Yet this is no longer mentioned in textbooks of genetics, psychology, demography, or sociology, or discussed in serious magazines or papers. Eugenics has become the truth that dare not speak its name.

Nevertheless, from the 1960s, at the same time as eugenics was becoming rejected, a new eugenics was appearing and was to make considerable progress in the next three decades. This was the eugenics of medical technology. The three most important developments of the new eugenics have been the prenatal diagnosis of fetal genetic disorders, *in vitro* fertilization, and gene therapy. Prenatal diagnosis followed by the abortion of fetuses with genetic disorders began with the development of amniocentesis and was initially used for the detection of Down's syndrome. Later, other techniques of prenatal diagnosis have been developed including ultrasound scan, maternal serum screening, fetal biopsy, and chorion villus sampling. From the early 1970s, pregnant women in

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The scientific research program of eugenics consisted of the demonstration that intelligence and moral character are important determinants of scientific, cultural, and economic achievement, that these qualities tend to be transmitted in families from generation to generation, and that they are partly determined genetically. None of these was well established in the early decades of the twentieth century, but during the course of the century research in the social sciences and genetics showed they were all true. Eugenics was also an applied science with a policy agenda. This was to apply to humans the same techniques of selective reproduction that had been so successfully used for centuries to produce improved strains of animals and plants. In practical terms, this meant finding politically acceptable ways of reducing the numbers of children of those who were considered to have genetically undesirable qualities, who in those days were called the undeserving poor and are today known as the underclass. This was negative eugenics. Part of this program consisted of the establishment of birth control clinics for the provision of contraception to those who did not practice it.

Another component of this program, more controversially, consisted of the sterilization of the mentally retarded and criminals. The sterilization program was first introduced in Indiana in 1907. During the next three decades similar programs were introduced throughout the United States, in Canada, in Japan, and in most of continental Europe including Scandinavia, France, and Germany.

Both of these eugenic policy programs achieved considerable successes in the first half of the twentieth century. The knowledge and practice of contraception spread from the professional and middle classes to blue collar workers and then to unskilled workers and the underclass. This considerably reduced the dysgenic fertility of the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, although it was not entirely eliminated. There is still some dysgenic fertility throughout the economically developed nations and most of the remainder of the world. The sterilization programs also achieved a considerable measure of success. The mentally retarded tend to have mentally retarded children, so the sterilization of large numbers of the mentally retarded inevitably reduced the birth incidence of mental retardation.

The second policy objective of eugenics was to find ways of persuading genetic elites to have greater numbers of children. This was known as positive eugenics and the principal method proposed was the provision of financial incentives for elites to have children. It proved impossible in the western democracies to introduce any practical measures to further this objective. The only country where significant measures of this kind have been introduced and have had some success has been Singapore, where the former prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew was and still is a keen eugenicist.

From the 1960s, eugenics became increasingly attacked in the western democracies although there remain committed eugenicists in China, as well as in Singapore. In the western democracies eugenics was attacked on a number of

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could therefore be improved by increasing the numbers of genes for them or, conversely, reducing the numbers of genes for genetic diseases, low intelligence, and weak moral character. To the eugenicists of the first half of the twentieth century, it seemed obvious that health is better than disease, high intelligence is preferable to low intelligence, and strong moral character preferable to weak moral character. And therefore, if the numbers of genes for health, intelligence, and strong moral character could be increased and those for disease, low intelligence, and weak moral character could be reduced, it would be desirable to do so.

To Galton and other eugenicists, there was a further reason for attempting to introduce eugenic measures. This was that they understood that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the populations of the economically developed nations had begun to deteriorate genetically. There were two reasons for this. The first was that improvements in general health, medical treatments, and welfare were reducing the mortality of those with genetic diseases, low intelligence, and weak moral character. Many of those who would formerly have died in childhood were surviving and having children, to whom they transmitted their undesirable genes. The second reason was that the more intelligent and those with stronger moral character had begun to have relatively few children, with the result that the genes for these qualities were being reduced in the population. The principal reason for this *dysgenic fertility*, as it came to be called, was that once the modern condom was invented and marketed in the early 1870s, the more intelligent and those with stronger moral character used this to limit their numbers of children more efficiently than those with low intelligence and weak moral character.

The eugenicists believed that the quality of civilization depended on the intelligence and moral character of the population. If the genetic quality of the population in respect of these qualities continued to deteriorate, they believed the quality of civilization would inevitably decline. Some of them, such as Sir Ronald Fisher, the professor of genetics at the University of Cambridge during the 1920s and 1930s, believed that the declines of classical Greece and Rome were partly due to a genetic deterioration of this kind, caused by the failure of the patrician class to reproduce itself.

Eugenics was both a developing body of scientific knowledge and a political program. Its scientific basis lay in the selective breeding of animals and plants that had been successfully practiced for centuries. In the middle ages, larger and stronger horses were bred to carry soldiers in heavy armor. Sheep and cattle were bred for greater weight and leaner meat. Different strains of dogs were bred for specialized functions, such as sheep dogs, hounds, retrievers and so forth. Racehorses were bred for faster running speeds. Fruits and vegetables were also bred for improved quality. The modern strawberry we know today was bred in a London garden in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

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# EUGENICS
## PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

RICHARD LYNN

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During the last century there has been a complete turnabout in public attitudes to eugenics. In the first two thirds of the twentieth century, most scientists and social scientists supported eugenics. In the United States, advocates of eugenics included the Nobel Prize winning scientists Herman Muller, Linus Pauling, Joshua Lederberg, and William Shockley, and leading psychologists Edward Thorndike, Lewis Terman, and William McDougall. Many prominent public figures also supported eugenics, including President Theodore Roosevelt; Charles Wilson, president of Harvard; Irving Fisher, president of Yale; David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University; and Oliver Wendell Holmes, associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The European scientific community widely supported eugenics throughout the early twentieth century. In Britain, supporters of eugenics included the philosopher Bertrand Russell; geneticists Sir Ronald Fisher and Sir Julian Huxley; psychologists Charles Spearman and Sir Cyril Burt; economists John Maynard Keynes and Sir William Beveridge; Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb; writers H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw; and politicians Arthur Balfour and Winston Churchill. In France, the Nobel Prize winner Alexis Carrell was a keen supporter of eugenics, and in Scandinavia and Germany eugenics had many supporters.

The tide of opinion began to turn against eugenics during the 1960s. In 1969 the American Eugenics Society ended publication of its journal *Eugenics Quarterly* and replaced it with *Social Biology*. Eugenics societies in Britain and continental Europe also put themselves into voluntary liquidation. Since 1970 eugenics has become in essence universally condemned.

How did such a change come about? And what exactly is eugenics? The word *eugenics* was coined in 1883 by the British social scientist Sir Francis Galton to mean *good-breeding* and consists primarily of attempts to improve the genetic quality of the population in respect of health, intelligence and moral character. The concept of moral character embraced law-abidingness, self-discipline, a strong work ethic, and a sense of social obligation. The eugenicists believed that health, intelligence, and moral character are partly under genetic control and

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non-interventionists like Charles Lindbergh, whose associations with high-ranking officers during the 1930s became a focus of media complaints, embraced the war effort after the attack on Pearl Harbor without ever disavowing their attitudes on the causes and consequences of the war. Lindbergh himself volunteered to serve in the army air corps during World War II despite his belief that the war would lead to the suicide of European civilization and the white race. Also indicative is that the attitudes of professional respect and the network of personal friendships between Moseley and the other officers, including Eisenhower and George C. Marshall, remained intact. After Moseley's retirement in 1938, Marshall wrote to him: "I know you will leave behind a host of younger men who have a loyal devotion to you for what you have stood for. I am one of the company, and it makes me very sad to think that I cannot serve with you and under you again" (p. 309). Support for Moseley's views was widespread among the officers, with the only criticisms being not that Moseley was wrong but that criticizing the administration would have negative repercussions for the army. There was a great deal of complaining in private about the policies of the administration, but in the end the officers did their duty, including carrying out the severe anti-German policies of the post war era advocated by Jewish organizations and the media.

I also agree with Gottfried that the individualistic strains of American civilization strongly militated against a mass anti-Jewish movement taking hold in the U.S. during the 1930s. As I discuss elsewhere (*TOQ*, Summer 2002, Vol. 2, #2), Western individualism derives ultimately from a prolonged evolutionary history during which the main pressures were adverse environmental conditions rather than competition with other groups. The response of these military officers was not to advocate the creation of a collectivist, organicist anti-Jewish movement similar to German National Socialism as a defensive movement against their perceived enemies. Theirs was a struggle aimed at the preservation of European ethnic homogeneity and the individualistic heritage of European-American cultural forms in the face of what they quite rightly viewed as a Jewish onslaught. They never questioned the representative form of government, the separation of powers, or the subordination of the military to civilian authority even as these cultural forms increasingly meant their own marginalization and ultimate defeat. These tendencies continue today among the vast majority of European-derived people in the U.S. even as we approach what Pat Buchanan has aptly termed *The Death of the West*.

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There was a variety of very important policy differences between the military officers and the Jewish community—differences that spanned the spectrum of foreign and domestic policy. These included policy toward Poland and other Eastern European countries after World War I, the levels of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, domestic political radicalism, policy toward the Soviet Union and Germany during the 1930s, treatment of German POWs and German and Jewish civilians after World War II, policy toward Jews in the Arab world during World War II, and policy toward the creation of a Jewish state in the Middle East. Whatever the negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups that the officers might have had, Jews were far more important players in the domestic or international political scene than these other ethnic groups. There were real conflicts of interest between the officers and the Jewish community, and the Jewish community managed to exert considerable and sometimes decisive influence in all of these areas in opposition to the prevailing views of the officers.

Gottfried makes much of the fact that "these politically incorrect officers would soon be fighting against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, on the side of the Soviets and world Communism, and would decimate their far-rightist foe." They did indeed, but Bendersky shows that the officers did so reluctantly because they did not view a war with Germany as in the U.S. national interest and even though they sympathized with Nazis in their attitudes toward Jews. As noted in my review, during World War II, anti-Jewish attitudes were common in the officer corps, but, as Bendersky notes, "the political climate created by the Roosevelt administration had forced them into silence, particularly concerning Jews and Communists" (p. 301). And after World War II, "Feeling inhibited from speaking publicly by alleged Jewish power, a number of officers, as well as some government officials, complained incessantly in private that Jewish 'refugees in American uniforms,' together with Jews in the U.S. government, unduly affected American policy toward Germany in a variety of detrimental ways" (p. 364). One wonders why Bendersky writes of "alleged Jewish power" given the experience of officers such as General William van Horn Moseley and Colonel Truman Smith in the late 1930s and General George S. Patton after the World War II. These officers were subjected to enormous pressure from the media and the Roosevelt and Truman administrations because their actions and statements conflicted with policies advocated by Jewish organizations. It must have been obvious to military officers that they could either carry out the policy of the administration or they could leave the military, but they could not publicly express anti-Jewish attitudes, support for racialist theories or eugenics, or disagreement with the anti-German and pro-Israel thrust of U.S. foreign policy.

In the end, these officers were soldiers first and foremost and they had deeply internalized the democratic values of traditional America, undoubtedly as a result of their strong identification with the culture in which they grew up. These values included the subordination of the military to the executive branch of the government, and this mindset would have made unthinkable any other response besides carrying out the policy of the administration. In general, even former

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Jews and led by Franz Boas. It is of great importance to chart the decline of the influence of these racial theorists and the concomitant rise of the Boasian school. Bendersky's book shows quite clearly that by the mid-1930s, the transformation was well under way. Moreover, as I try to show in my review, the officers' ideas on the characteristics of Jews and the sources of anti-Semitism were in fact quite accurate. Notably missing from their worldview were the myths and libels that Jews were to be hated because they killed Christ or killed Christian children and drank their blood. Their beliefs about Jews were based on what Jews were actually doing to change the country—particularly their very large involvement in Bolshevism and other forms of political radicalism. These officers were usually quite circumspect in their assessment of Jewish attitudes and behavior. Even the credibility of the *Protocols* hinged not on the document itself but on the entire political context: to the extent that the *Protocols* had any impact at all on the officers, its credibility derived from the fact that it seemed to be a good description of the behavior of significant portions of the Jewish community.

While it is undoubtedly true that the officers had negative folk beliefs about blacks, Italians and the Irish, I see no reason to suppose that they viewed these latter groups as anything like the threat they perceived immigrant Eastern European Jews to be. When Captain John B. Trevor drew up contingency plans to defend New York City in 1919, maps were produced which represented the concentrations of various ethnic groups. Superimposed on the map of ethnic distribution were designations of radical meeting places, and by far the largest concentration of these were in Jewish neighborhoods. From everything we know of the period, the attribution of greater radicalism to Jews is completely justified. Jews had a well-deserved special place in the thoughts of these army officers. The situation is analogous to the present situation in the U.S. following the events of September 11: an official intent on dealing with domestic terrorism would be well-advised to pinpoint immigrant Muslim neighborhoods on the theory that they are more likely than, say, immigrant Haitian neighborhoods to be involved in terrorism. In retrospect, one can agree with Bendersky that a Bolshevik revolution in the U.S. was unlikely, but it surely could not have been obvious that there would be no violence or terrorism resulting from the torrent of radical rhetoric so characteristic of immigrant Jewish neighborhoods during this period. Similarly, the concern of the tsarist government in Russia with Jewish radicalism between 1880 and the Bolshevik revolution was well founded given that Jewish radicals were responsible for a great majority of the political terrorism in Russia during this period. Moreover, the recent success of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union and its almost unbelievable level of bloodshed, the prominent role of Jewish radicals in the Bolshevik revolution and in the Soviet government, and the strong support for Bolshevism among Jews throughout the Western world surely warranted deep concern about the Jewish immigrant community in the United States.

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down national army. Unlike Bendersky and MacDonald, I am not struck by the fact that "anti-Jewish attitudes were common in the officer corps" during World War II but were held down by the Roosevelt administration. Whether or not such "attitudes" could be found and what exactly constituted such attitudes are less relevant matters than what the American officer corps did in the war itself.

Paul Gottfried, Ph.D.
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REPLY TO DR. GOTTFRIED:

I am an admirer of Paul Gottfried's work and cite him quite often in mine. I agree entirely with his comments that Bendersky's book is well designed to appeal to the current victimological Zeitgeist. Like many contemporary authors (Jewish and non-Jewish), Bendersky has latched on to a winning strategy for great reviews in prestigious publications and a lucrative career: Write moral condemnations of any aspect of the pre-1965 culture of the white, European-descended majority of the United States, especially any suggestion that they did not fully embrace the seismic shifts in both popular and elite culture that were being wrought by the newly arrived, very energetic Jewish minority.

While generally in agreement with my review of Bendersky, Gottfried complains that I attach too much importance to the subject matter of the book, what Gottfried terms "the struggle between the rising Jewish race and a by then threatened WASP elite." Gottfried reduces the subject matter of the book to the level of "scuttlebutt"—fairly harmless banter reflecting folk wisdom about the characteristics of other ethnic groups. The corollary to this thesis is that there really wasn't much of a struggle—that Jews, and especially Jewish immigrant radicalism, were not really a threat to the United States, its value system, or its erstwhile Northern European elite. There are several problems with this point of view.

The officers' words and actions did not simply reflect folk wisdom about various ethnic groups. Bendersky goes to considerable pains to document that the officers were schooled in Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, Henry Pratt Fairchild, William Ripley, Gustav Le Bon, Charles Davenport, and William McDougall. These theories were taught at the Army War College by people associated with the most prestigious academic institutions in the land. As noted in my review of Bendersky and in my book, *The Culture of Critique*, the decline of this way of thinking was not the result of new data but the result of a relentless, politically motivated campaign led by academics who were strongly identified as

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would play such a role—and in most cases do so with alacrity? In my considered view, Bendersky proves nothing about the military in the period he treats, except its failure to exemplify the standards of political correctness of a later generation.

What may be most relevant in looking at this book is its appeal to the prevalent Western victimological culture. A neoconservative press, Basic Books, published it. Moreover, *Commentary*, and other Jewish magazines that obsessively look for the telltale signs of anti-Semitism, on these shores as well as elsewhere, gave thumbs-up to Bendersky's work. Like a recent biography of Henry Ford by Neil Baldwin and the American Jewish histories churned out by Leonard Dinnerstein, Bendersky is riveting on to a growing readership made up of vocally anti-Christian Jews and self-hating WASPs. He is happily pursuing a booming market, which reflects on American society more than it does on the intrinsic value of the writings in question. From various victimologists pretending to be historians, one of my students last semester took away the understandable impression that the U.S. in the 1930s swarmed with virulent anti-Semites and differed in its bigotry from Nazi Germany only in degree.

In the thirties the U.S. was a country moving leftward politically, which would soon be fighting fascism on the side of the Communists. While there was a flare-up of anti-Semitism during the Depression, and with the rise into prominence of the predominantly Eastern European Jews who had come at the turn of the century, Bendersky (and perhaps MacDonald) makes too much about very little.

One of the points to which MacDonald alludes, without expanding on, is the soaring strength of American Communism in the thirties relative to any group on the American far right. Curiously, this rallying to the far left did not produce in the U.S, as happened in Europe at the same time, an appreciable backlash in terms of a far-right mass movement. (Note there were focal points of social discontent in the U.S. that like the followers of Father Coughlin drifted temporarily toward the fascists in the late thirties after having held rather typical social democratic positions. But such groups never showed in the same period the electoral or organizational strength of the far left, particularly the Communists.) The reasons for this, as explained by Philip Jenkins in a provocative study of the anemic far right in Pennsylvania from the thirties into the sixties, are extremely complex, relating to, among other things, the deep religious divisions found on the interwar American right. To me what seems equally relevant, and what MacDonald explores in his trilogy, is the individualistic mindset that comes to predominate in a country founded and inhabited by Protestant sectarians. Such settlers and their descendants have not been much attracted to organicist movements and, with due respect to American Jewish historians, have rarely shown interest in becoming anti-Semites. In any case what Bendersky interprets as a nativist backlash specifically directed against Jews are only the social gripes and reports about Jewish proclivities toward radical politics registered by particular military officers in what until the eve of World War II was a scaled-

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# CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR:

Having read Kevin MacDonald's review of Joseph Bendersky's brief against the interwar American military ["Enemies of My Enemy," *TOQ*, Winter 2001, pp. 63-77], I would like to register my reactions. Like everything else that I've been privileged to see of Professor MacDonald's work, this particular review makes useful points. Even more importantly, it takes on issues that most non-Jewish intellectuals are too terrified (or self-terrified) to raise. MacDonald is correct to stress that at least some of the complaints about the disproportionately large Jewish representation in radical leftist politics put out by Military Intelligence in the thirties just happened to be true. Bendersky assumes quite naively that any comment uttered about Jewish participation in subversive organizations betrayed vicious bigotry—and should be dismissed out of hand. Bendersky also draws inflated comparisons between off-color remarks about Jews made by or attributed to American officers or politicians and the kind of anti-Semitism then being practiced in Nazi Germany.

Where MacDonald and I would disagree with regard to Bendersky (whom I first met in the late sixties when he was my graduate assistant at Michigan State) is in the importance that MacDonald assigns to his book in the context of the struggle between the rising Jewish race and a by then threatened WASP elite. Is Bendersky's work "an extraordinary record of an important arena in the conflict between Jews and Northern Europeans," "a triumphalist history written by a member of a group that won the intellectual and political wars of the twentieth century"? Bendersky (who, by the way, is not Jewish but a Ukrainian Catholic) demonstrates nothing as grandiose as what MacDonald suggests. He presents with ominous commentary all the anti-Jewish scuttlebutt that may or may not have been uttered by those associated with the American military in the twenties and thirties. Indeed similarly abrasive remarks were no doubt showered on other groups, if Bendersky had bothered to notice what every foul-mouthed officer had said about a "mick," "nigger," "dago," or "Southern cracker" promoted beyond his supposed proper place. The significant fact is these politically incorrect officers would soon be fighting against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, on the side of the Soviets and world Communism, and would decimate their far-rightist foe. How could it be that what Bendersky depicts as a Nazi-like officer class

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(For more on the history of the Pioneer Fund see Louis Andrews's book review of *The Science of Human Diversity* in this issue. Contributions should be made to the Laura C. Weyher Charitable Foundation, 1108 West Vernon Ave., Kinston, N.C. 285001.)

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To our readers: this issue (Spring 2002) is dated Volume 2, number 1 rather than Volume 1, number 3 in order to put the journal on a calendar-year publishing schedule. The summer, fall and winter issues will subsequently be Volume 2, numbers 2, 3 and 4 and then next spring will begin Volume 3 and will follow in this sequence. Since the first issue of the first volume was published last fall, the editors decided that it would be more beneficial to keep the journal in sync with the calendar-year cycle.

Also beginning with this issue, the journal adds a new feature: a correspondence section that in the future will feature letters to the editor as well as critiques, commentary and exchanges between contributors and their critics. We welcome your comments or criticisms. We can be reached at: EditorTOQ@theoccidentalquarterly.com or *The Occidental Quarterly*, c / o: Editor, P.O. Box 695, Mt. Airy, MD 21771.

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# EDITOR'S NOTE

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# HARRY F. WEYHER (1921-2002) R.I.P.

On March 27, 2002, Harry F. Weyher died in La Grange, North Carolina from health complications after a prolonged battle with cancer. Throughout his eighty-year lifespan Weyher led a successful life as an attorney, soldier, author, philanthropist, and family man. He graduated from the University of North Carolina (Phi Beta Kappa), served in Europe during World War II, graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard Law School in 1949, became editor of the Harvard Law Review, joined the law firm of Cravath Swain and Moore, held the position of special assistant attorney general to the New York State Crime Commission, became adjunct associate professor at New York University School of Law, as well as a member of the Society of Cincinnati, and became one of the founders of the NY-based law firm of Olwine, Connelly, Chase, O'Donnell, and Weyher. Near the end of his professional career, he joined the law firm of Hollyer, Brady, Smith, Troxell, Barret, Rockett, Hines, and Mone. During his career, Harry wrote several articles and two law textbooks.

He is perhaps better known in certain circles for his important service as a former director and president of the Pioneer Fund, a non-profit foundation established on March 11, 1937 that was established to carry out two objectives: First, to provide financial assistance to the parents of children likely to become socially valuable citizens who would make important contributions to their society; and second, to provide grants for research into the study of human nature, heredity, and eugenics. Only the second objective has been funded.

Harry Weyher was appointed a Pioneer Fund director in 1958 and then served as president for over 40 years. During his tenure, Pioneer financially supported some of the most important scientific research in the areas of heredity and "human race betterment"—the study of intelligence, personality and behavioral traits, eugenics, and race differences. Several Pioneer grantees have been eminent scholars and distinguished social scientists, including a recipient of the Nobel Prize, a past president of the American Psychological Association, and some of the most cited psychologists in the scientific literature. He carried out the intentions of Pioneer's founders with steadfast conviction and resolute determination. J. Phillipe Rushton has been appointed to succeed Harry as president and Richard Lynn and Michelle Weyher have been named as directors.

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# C-FAR

***Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform*** (C-FAR), founded in 1979, is a group of free thinking Canadians. Most of us would call ourselves populists. We strongly believe in the idea of majority rule and are concerned that on key issues – from capital punishment to immigration – Canada's ruling elite arrogantly ignores the will of the majority.

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